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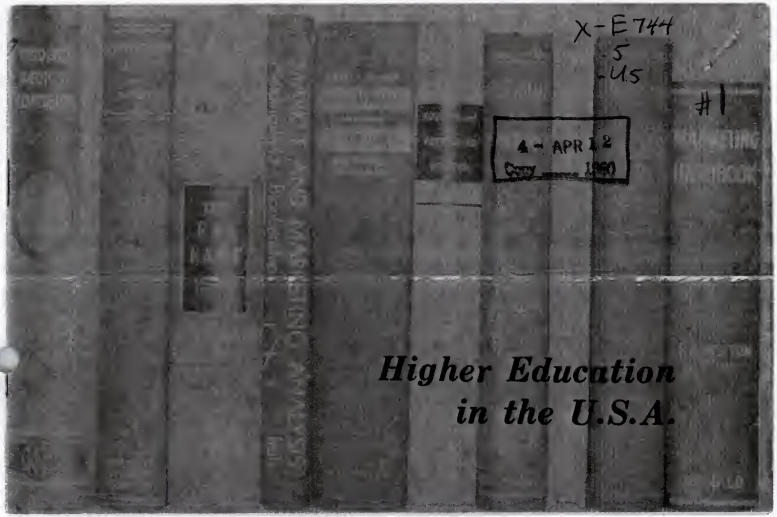

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Higher Education in the U.S.A.

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#2

LABOR DAY SPEECH

OF

Henry F. Ashurst

AT

PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

September 6th, 1909

X-E748
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#3

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

ON

"WHAT IS PUBLIC BUSINESS?"

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 23, 1913

WASHINGTON
1913

3217—12170

X-E748
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#4

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 21, 1914

The Nation is not truly great if its women are denied the right to become a part of the governing power.

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1914

26561—12684

X-E748
.A7
#5

THE SIMMONS-UNDERWOOD TARIFF BILL

"WE ENVY NO MAN WHAT HE MAKES; WE CHALLENGE ONLY WHAT HE TAKES".

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 25, 1913

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1915
9015—14802

X-E748
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#6

AGAINST THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 27, 1916

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1916

25137—14981

X-E748
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#7

CONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT ARMOR PLATE FACTORY AND CONSTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT PLANTS FOR FIXATION OF ATMOSPHERIC NITROGEN

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 15, 1916

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1916

32953—10272

X-E746
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#8

Congressional Record.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Good Roads.

REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,
OF ARIZONA,
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Saturday, July 8, 1916.

The Senate, in Committee of the Whole, had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I have received so many requests for information concerning the legislation proposing Federal aid in the construction of roads that I take this opportunity briefly to set out just in what way the goods-roads legislation relates to the State of Arizona.

The good-roads bill appropriates $5,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1916; $10,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1917; $15,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1918; $20,000,000 for 1919; and $25,000,000 for 1920, which sums of money are to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture in cooperation with the State highway departments in constructing rural roads over which the United States mails obtain the benefits of this law, must, by act of its legislature, ther required that a State highway department be established, which the United States Government may deal, and the State contributes at least an equal amount, which contribution may be in money, material, or labor, toward the construction of any proposed road.

The money appropriated by the good-roads act will be apportioned among the States according to, and will be determined by, three factors, to wit: One-third in the ratio which the area of the State bears to the total area of all the States, one-third according to population, and one-third according to the mileage of rural delivery and star routes as compared with the total mileage of all such routes.

Arizona has an area of 113,810 square miles, or 3.83 per cent of the total area of the United States. She has 0.224 per cent of the population of the United States and 0.251 per cent of the post-route mileage of the United States. By consolidating these three factors it is disclosed that Arizona is entitled to 1.435 per cent of the appropriation made under this act, which means that if Arizona sees fit to take advantage of the benefits offered by the Federal law the following sums of money will be available for road construction in Arizona within the next five years:

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1916	$71,750
For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1917	143,500
For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1918	215,250
For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919	287,000
For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1920	358,750
Total	1,076,250

In addition thereto it should be explained that this good-roads bill also appropriates $1,000,000 each year for the next 10 years, to be expended under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture upon request of the county or State authorities, in the construction and maintenance of roads within, or partly within, national forests. There were in Arizona on January 1, 1916, 12,499,485 acres in national forests, or about 10 per cent of the total area of our national forests in continental United States. Assuming Arizona to have one-tenth of the national forest area, Arizona would therefore receive the additional amount of $100,000 per year for the next 10 years for the construction of roads within her national forests. This will make a total of $2,076,250 available for Arizona within the next 10 years through this good-roads legislation. In this connection it must not be forgotten that this sum of $2,076,250 will be in addition to the sum of $112,697.51 which is now annually paid to the State of Arizona by the Federal Government on account of receipts from the national forests. I submit herewith a table showing how this sum of $112,697.51 is derived and to what fund it is to be credited:

Receipts from grazing and other sources, State of Arizona, fiscal year 1915; also, amounts paid to State for school fund under the enabling act, and for roads and schools, 25 per cent of receipts.

Forest.	Grazing.	Timber and other sources.	Total.	Paid to State.	
				School fund, enabling act.	Roads and school, 25 per cent.
Apache	$15,738.55	$3,789.16	$19,527.71	$3,109.07	$4,354.46
Chiricahua [1]	4,049.33	796.96	4,846.29	522.34	1,575.46
Coconino	25,967.55	64,533.18	90,500.73	9,774.44	20,181.37
Coronado	10,630.27	2,384.67	12,984.94	1,652.43	2,866.53
Crook	9,189.94	2,251.40	11,412.34	1,292.58	2,544.94
Dixie	2,375.31	529.88	2,905.19	312.77	647.85
Kaibab	4,099.43	864.28	4,963.71	336.10	1,156.90
Manzano [1]	330.88	575.54	906.39	97.89	202.12
Prescott	24,318.31	5,244.29	29,532.60	3,185.64	6,588.74
Sitgreaves	10,623.94	1,407.67	12,031.61	1,315.94	2,606.42
Tonto	28,142.44	1,908.12	30,050.56	5,248.58	6,701.25
Tusayan	17,652.97	20,023.00	48,485.97	5,235.68	10,812.32
Total	152,799.89	115,398.15	268,198.04	28,966.46	59,837.89

[1] Forests partly in another State; receipts prorated according to area.

In addition to the above, 10 per cent of receipts, $23,923.16, was set aside as Arizona's share of the appropriation for construction of roads and trails within the State.

RESUME.

The Department of Agriculture received from all sources from national forests in Arizona in 1915 $268,198.04.

Paid to Arizona for roads and schools, 25 per cent thereof after deductions for school lands	$59,837.89
Paid to Arizona 10 per cent of receipts for construction of roads and trails	23,923.16
Paid to Arizona, on account of school lands within the national forests	*28,966.46
Total paid to Arizona, 1915, on account of national forests	112,697.51

I wish to explain, with reference to the $28,966.46* paid to Arizona on account of school lands within national forests, that the phrase "of all the national forests within said State the area," referring to Arizona, was unfortunately omitted from section 24 of the enabling act, although the phrase appeared in section 6 of said act, wherein it referred to New Mexico. Believing it was the intention of Congress to apply the same rule to both Arizona and New Mexico with regard to the proportionate amount to be paid to each State to the credit of the common-school fund by reason of school lands in national forests, I obtained departmental construction of said section 24, which resulted in securing $28,966.46 additional for the Arizona common-school fund in 1915, and also resulted in securing an amount approximating this sum for the years 1912, 1913, and 1914, and by reason of the departmental construction which I obtained this sum will in future years progressively increase. The omission of these important words above mentioned from the statehood bill was not an omission by any mistake of the printer, but they do not appear in the enrolled bill, for I have closely examined the enrolled bill on file in the State Department.

Nearly 75 years have elapsed since the Federal Government discontinued making appropriations for road construction, and in this progressive age it is very timely that the Federal Government should resume its function of constructing roads. Of the 48 States of the Union 43 have continued in some measure the practice of State participation in public-road improvement

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ADDRESS

OF

SENATOR ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 4, 1917

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1917
90631—17197

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#10

CUT OUT RED TAPE.

DO NOT SHACKLE THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

April 11, 1918.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I would not address the Senate at this late hour of the day on this bill if it were not for the fact that I have made arrangements to be absent to-morrow, to visit some Arizona boys in the National Army at one of the near-by camps. That is my apology for consuming time this late in the afternoon.

Following the precedent set by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], who preceded me, I will ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD at the beginning of my remarks a copy of the bill under consideration, Senate bill 3771, the so-called Overman bill. I should like to ask that it be included in the RECORD as reported by the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

The bill, as reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, is as follows:

A bill (S. 3771) authorizing the President to coordinate or consolidate executive bureaus, agencies, and offices, and for other purposes, in the interest of economy and the more efficient concentration of the Government.

Be it enacted, etc., That for the national security and defense, for the successful prosecution of the war, for the support and maintenance of the Army and Navy, for the better utilization of resources and industries, and for the more effective exercise and more efficient administration by the President of his powers as Commander in Chief of the land and naval forces, the President is hereby authorized to make such redistribution of functions among executive agencies as he may deem necessary, including any functions, duties, and powers hitherto by law conferred upon any executive department, commission, bureau, agency, office, or officer, in such manner as in his judgment shall seem best fitted to carry out the purposes of this act, and to this end is authorized to make such regulations and to issue such orders as he may deem necessary, which regulations and orders shall be in writing and shall be filed with the head of the department affected and constitute a public record: *Provided*, That this act shall remain in force during the continuance of the present war and for one year after the termination of the war by the proclamation of the treaty of peace, or at such earlier time during the said year as the President may designate: *Provided further*, That the termination of this act shall not affect any act done or any right or obligation accruing or accrued pursuant to this act and during the time that this act is in force: *Provided further*, That the authority by this act granted shall be exercised only in matters relating to the conduct of the present war.

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#11

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

October 17, 1918.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, it is plain that we are now living in a world different from that in which we lived before the European war began. True, indeed, the same oceans break upon the same coasts, we tread the same soil, and the same unquenchable stars shed their blended radiance upon our pathway. Under the genial rays of the same sun, the warm seasons come, and summer is, as usual, supplanted by the less pleasing dress of winter; but the world is, nevertheless, altered; its problems are different; they are more complex, more difficult.

Economic and social questions that we once deemed settled, and things we once believed to be permanent, have either been burned away by the flash of gunfire or have suffered a severe shifting in the glacial grinding of the mighty forces unloosed four years ago. Gigantic events of world-wide importance now tread upon one another's heels, so fast do they follow.

When the eruptions of the great war poured their scorching scoria upon the United States, we beheld a sudden transformation of values here; we saw people who were traveling unobstructed roads suddenly halted; we saw others who were engrossed in safe ambitions and comfortable successes interrupted; and, in the very midst of their laughter and pleasure, we saw the mysterious finger of duty here and there touch the young men of our land and mark them for stern and mighty tasks. These young men uncomplainingly laid aside their gainful occupations, their comforts of home, their diversions and amusements, and with a heroism and an energy worthy of the best days of the Republic they bounded forward to defend liberty and civilization. We saw these same young men on land, on sea, and in the sky visualize and conceive so complete a realization of the justice and grandeur of the American cause that their patriotic enthusiasm is the admiration of all civilized men. I do not hesitate to assert that never before was there a war where the patriotism, valor, idealism, and sacrifice of the soldier mounted higher or shone with a purer and whiter flame than that which beams from America's heroic sons now on the red line of battle, fighting not only that we of to-day but that our remote posterity as well may live the lives of free people.

For a considerable period of time before the shuttle of flying shells wove that metal fabric now suspended between the contending armies in Europe, there was a widespread belief that the American, as a rule, had become soft and flabby. Reflecting for a moment upon prewar conditions, we recall that in material resources we were the richest of all the nations; we enjoyed guaranteed personal liberties and rights not possessed by any other people; we held traditions of state building, romance of origin, wealth of fields, forests, and mines unknown

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The peninsula of Lower California, I repeat, is a vermiform appendix to Mexico. It is the heel—the Achilles heel—to the United States.

The Mexican Republic is both unwilling and unable to police the domain, and is unable to resist aggressions from or settlements on the peninsula by oriental powers, hence a base of supplies or of military and naval operations with comparative ease and secrecy could be established among the numerous islands on its Pacific coast. * * *

Our duty is plain. In these troublous times we in charge of the Nation's destiny, holding the most sacred deposit ever confided to human hands, should not shirk nor shrink. If we perform these duties, glory will be our portion; if we fail, it will be to our shame. There is no remorse so deep, so poignant, so inveterate, as that which comes from the consciousness that we have failed at a supreme crisis to avail ourselves of an opportunity to perform a real and needful public service to our country, and there is no happiness more sustaining, more enduring, or more unselfish than the consciousness that we have met in a worthy manner the responsibilities upon us.

Fortune, success, and opportunity soar aloft on high and rapid wing. They must be seized as they pass by. It is a difficult task to overtake them once they have left us behind, or found us asleep or afraid.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 7, 1919

WASHINGTON
1919

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#13

AN ARTICLE

BY

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,

OF ARIZONA,

ON ARIZONA, THE OLD NEW STATE, RICH IN SCENIC GRANDEUR, ROMANCE, HISTORY, AND NATURAL RESOURCES.

[Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, JAN. 14, 1919.]

Arizona was a populous land before the Pyramids were built. Years before Romulus and Remus were suckled, ancient Arizona peoples builded cities, not wholly lacking in grandeur. These peoples of antiquity wove and spun cotton and flax into gaudy tapestries; they melted gold and silver, from Arizona's hills, into chieftains' ornaments and queens' girdles, before Cæsar's shouting legions and laureled ensigns brought tribute back to Rome.

Centuries before the Knickerbocker set foot on Manhattan Island, their engineers watered Arizona's fertile sands from canals and reservoirs finished with hard linings of tamped or burnt clay, which in some degree possessed the endurance of our modern concrete. The origin of this people is unknown, enwrapped in the mists of antiquity. Nothing has been found of sufficient distinctiveness to enable us to do more than speculate and form ingenious theories as to whence they came, how long they enjoyed their tolerable civilization, and whither and why they went.

The Pima Indians reported to Padre Quino in 1698 that the Casa-Grande ruins were in the same condition at least 300 years before, which seemed to he as far back as the Pima tradition ran.

Whether these ancient peoples perished, migrated into Mexico, or broke up into the numerous tribes of aborigines still inhabiting the State is a matter of speculation.

Obscure and meager is that portion of our annals where we must seek for the meaning and derivation of the name "Arizona." According to bulletin 613, "Guidebook of the Western States," issued by the Department of the Interior in 1915, the word "Arizona" is taken from the Papago language, in which it is said to signify "place of small springs." According to the Encyclopedia of Names, the word is said to be "a corruption of Pima or Papago, 'Orilson,' meaning 'little creeks.'" Mowray in his "Arizona and Sonora," says: "The name is undoubtedly derived from the Aztec. In the original it is 'Arizuma' and the change is a corruption into the present word, which is accepted as Spanish. The impression among those who have been curious enough to investigate is that it signifies 'silver-bearing.'"

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#14

RUSH-BAGOT TREATY

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 28, 1919

WASHINGTON
1919

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ADDRESS OF SENATOR HENRY F. ASHURST

TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
JUNE 8, 1920

Father Rector and Gentlemen of the Graduating Classes of Georgetown University:

My first duty is to return my thanks for the honors that have been conferred upon me today and my next duty is to assure you that I am aware of the responsibility assumed by one who attempts to speak the final words to graduating classes.

Today you will pass out of the zone within which the voices of your teachers may be heard, but this class will never journey to a region so remote that it will go beyond the circle of the ennobling influence of the Faculty of Georgetown University.

After three years of labor here, you now emerge from the teacher's hand bearing largely the impress, the tone and the gradations of character which this temple of learning has stamped upon you.

At this juncture, when you are about to plunge into contest with a reluctant and obdurate world, I am invited and expected to stand here and utter words that may sustain and encourage you and be a talisman for you in the days to come when possibly your riches may take wings, when defeat may come by some sudden unforeseen stroke, and your finest plans and prospects evaporate and disappear.

You therefore doubtless perceive not only the colossal proportions of such a task, but also the presumption of a person who believes he can perform it.

I would be content—indeed, happy—were I persuaded that I might today utter one sentence that in the silent years to come will sustain and comfort even one of your number.

At such a time a thronging tumult of thoughts and emotions arises to my lips and clamors for expression, but brevity is a golden virtue, so let us without more circumlocution ascertain what sort of a world this is upon whose threshold you are now standing and of whose events and duties you are so soon to become a part.

Reuben's observation to Cynthia that "Every one is crazy but thee and me, and at times thee is a little queer," could aptly be quoted in these troublous days. The world has had a severe strain during the past six years, and during the past three years the pressure has been heavier than the ordinary human being could withstand, hence there is an abnormal mind pervading all civilized peoples. The ouija board is working overtime; the philosopher is rare; vast unrest makes itself manifest everywhere. The ranks of the pessimists are daily securing recruits. The poor are crushed by the high prices they must pay for the merest subsistence, whilst the wealthy are timid and fearful as they perceive their savings, incomes and increments depleted by enormous taxes and other demands.

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ADDRESS OF
SENATOR HENRY F. ASHURST

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#17

Congressional Record.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

HOSPITALIZATION OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, December 22, 1921.

The Senate had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 9458) for the relief of the distressed and starving people of Russia.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, what I am required to do this morning is apparently ungracious, as the Congress desires to adjourn for the holidays, but my task must be performed. I shall restrain the oratorical impetuosity and tumultuous emotion which I feel as I reflect upon the foul injustice that is being perpetrated upon many of our ex-service men suffering from tuberculosis. I now thank not only the conferees on the part of the Senate but also the conferees on the part of the House on the Russian relief bill. They accorded to me a privilege not usually extended to Members of either House. I made it known to the conferees that I desired to be heard on my two amendments, which the Senate adopted, to the Russian relief bill, and the chairman of the conference committee [Mr. SMOOT] was so kind as to come to me and advise me that they were in session. I was accorded, not only by the Senate conferees but also by the House conferees, a patient hearing, and I have reason to believe both of my amendments would have been agreed to had it not been for the reactionary and archaic rules of another branch of Congress which prevented the House conferees from agreeing to the amendments. I have, therefore, no quarrel with the conferees on this bill, but I quarrel with the rules of another body of this Congress.

I direct attention to the somnolence that has come upon the American Congress, a sleepiness which neither "poppy nor mandragora nor all the drowsy sirupe of the world could produce." I am at eternal war with this Congress or any Congress that will be silent, inert, and asleep when it should be lit by the passion of justice. Meanwhile what are the facts?

On the 17th of last October I received the following telegram from the governor of Arizona, a gentleman of good judgment and of accurate expression:

PHOENIX, ARIZ., *October 17, 1921.*

Senator HENRY F. ASHURST,
Washington, D. C.:

Director Forbes of Veterans' Bureau has submitted report to President strongly urging immediate action to meet present emergency arising from needs of hundreds of disabled former service men who, with approach of winter, are pouring into Arizona, where facilities for their care are very inadequate. He recommends immediate completion of Whipple building program through letting of contracts, it being obvious that under system now in effect winter will be well over before any of the buildings now under construction will be ready for occupancy. Maj. Louis T. Grant, manager Veterans' Bureau, twelfth district, is now in Washington, and I therefore urge that Arizona congressional delegation take prompt action, conferring with Maj. Grant and Director Forbes and calling on the President, bringing strongly to his attention the desperate situation in which these ex-service men find themselves and stating our necessity for immediate action along following lines: Speeding up of construction program at Whipple, establishment of vocational training center at Prescott, acquirement of additional hospital facilities at Phoenix, and construction of cottages at Tucson to accommodate approximately 300 more patients. The need is very real, and I urgently bespeak your hearty cooperation.

THOMAS E. CAMPBELL,
Governor.

Immediately upon the receipt of that telegram I called upon Mr. C. R. Forbes, Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau, and he said to me, "Senator, the governor has not overstated nor misstated the situation. We are trying to save the lives of the tubercular ex-service men who are pouring into the Southwest. We must have action, and we must have the nerve to sever the damnable red tape that is hindering efficient work."

Now, Mr. President, whether the common opinion of our countrymen to the effect that the Southwest with its balmy air and salubrious climate is a specific for tuberculosis is erroneous or not, nevertheless it is the common opinion not only of the laity but of many members of the medical profession that the Southwest is a specific for tuberculosis. I do not argue that question at this time. I leave the question to the physicians to answer; but I do assert, and no Senator would deny, that it is a common belief throughout our country that those persons suffering from tuberculosis who go to the Southwest find relief from the great white plague and that there the progress of their disease is arrested.

Therefore many ex-service men suffering from tuberculosis which they contracted while in the honorable service of their country drift into the Southwest, largely at their own expense, not by the dozens but by the scores. The local physicians there have measured up splendidly to their high and arduous profession; the charitable organizations, the State authorities, and the county authorities have done their full duty in attempting to care for these sufferers, and all will the superb work that the people have done, that the State has done, and that the Public Health Service has done, there still remains much more to be done. I could litter these desks with letters from ex-soldiers in Arizona who have gone there in search of health and are now suffering from the lack of proper hospitalization.

On December 12 when the deficiency appropriation bill was before the Senate I offered the following amendment thereto, and the same was agreed to by the Senate:

That the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau is hereby authorized to provide additional hospital and out-patient dispensary facilities for persons who served in the World War and are patients of the United States Veterans' Bureau by constructing on sites now owned by the Government or on sites to be acquired by purchase, condemnation, gift, or otherwise, such hospitals and out-patient dispensary facilities to include the necessary buildings and auxiliary structures, mechanical equipment, approach work, roads, and trackage facilities leading thereto, vehicles, live stock, furniture, furnishings, and accessories, and also to provide accommodations for officers, nurses, and employees, and the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau is authorized to accept gifts or donations for any of the purposes named therein. Such hospital plants and the location and nature thereof, whether for the treatment of tuberculosis, neuropsychiatric, or general medical and surgical cases, shall be in the discretion of the Director of the United States Veterans' Bureau.

That for carrying into effect the preceding paragraph relating to additional hospital facilities there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,000,000 to be immediately available and to remain available until expended.

In support of that amendment I spoke, in part, as follows:

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the time has arrived for the progress of hospitalizing the ex-service men when no further explanations or excuses can be offered. The situation is one which calls for immediate action. There is in this pending bill a provision to appropriate $1,000,000 to enable the Government of the United States to take part in the International Exposition at Rio de Janeiro. Naturally the opulent Government of the United States, which courts and deserves the esteem of other powers and other peoples, can not be oblivious to the fact that we should in due time take our proper part in the International Exposition at Rio de Janeiro, which will require the expenditure of $1,000,000; but are we prepared to vote $1,000,000 to take part in the International Exposition at Brazil when in one town in the United States 950 tubercular soldiers are suffering from neglect? Are Senators prepared on their conscience to say that they prefer that this $1,000,000 shall be spent for an international exposition rather than for the hospitalization of tubercular soldiers? * * * On Armistice Day we had services in honor of the unknown dead; and the private soldier was permitted to stand on the sidewalk and see the procession go by. Fifty thousand dollars were appropriated by Congress for the purpose of making arrangements for the exercises, and this sum was spent in giving generals and admirals and high-bred dignitaries seats; but the "gold star" mother received scant attention; no gold-star mother was brought here to participate in those exercises. All the soft seats and all the carriages and the equipages were preempted by generals and admirals and high-bred dignitaries. Now, we have forgotten men suffering from neglect on the streets of Phoenix, Ariz., we are going to "shell out" $1,000,000 to participate in an exposition in Brazil, but refuse to hospitalize those who stood in the iron storm of war and breathed poison gases in order that our civilization might be saved.

* * * * * * *

On the same bill to which my amendment was attached appropriating $1,000,000 for further hospitalization of ex-soldiers there was also attached by the Senate an amendment appropriating $100,000 to be expended by the Department of Labor in bringing the man to the job and the job to the man. I had the honor to be present at a meeting of the unemployment conference called by President Harding. I there met workingmen

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Congressional Record.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

THE SMITH-McNARY RECLAMATION BILL—IN RE TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY—AGRICULTURE BLOC.

SPEECHES
OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,
OF ARIZONA.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

May 24, 1922.

THE SMITH-M'NARY RECLAMATION BILL.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, in yesterday morning's Washington Post, under the column headed "Chats with Visitors," appeared a very interesting interview with Governor Campbell, of Arizona. I ask that it may be read by the Secretary.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Why not have it printed in the RECORD without reading?

Mr. McNARY. The article is brief, and I prefer that it be read. It is about a matter which will be interesting to the Senator from Washington.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read as requested.

The reading clerk read as follows:

"The people of the West are becoming very anxious for congressional action on land-reclamation projects which are now pending," declared Gov. Thomas E. Campbell, of Arizona, at the Willard. Mr. Campbell is now serving his third term as Republican governor of a State that is normally Democratic. He has been one of the leaders of the Western States Reclamation Association, which has united 13 western States in a campaign in support of pending reclamation legislation.

"There has been considerable talk about the West being the battle ground of the coming election, particularly with reference to the control of the House and the Senate," Governor Campbell said. "I believe this is a fact, and there is not much time between now and November for the people of our country to forget. We have been promised a broad national policy of reclamation. The Republican Party in its platform stands pledged. President Harding has emphatically declared himself in favor of the McNary-Smith bill. The committees of both Houses of Congress have recommended this bill by unanimous votes. To-day it is on the calendars of both House and Senate.

"Yet it appears that a narrow viewpoint of a few House leaders is endangering its passage through inactivity and procrastination. We may live a long way from Washington, but we are familiar with the political tactics of letting a meritorious measure die on the calendar. The West to-day is watching the national administration with just as keen an interest as the leaders are watching the West."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the Governor of the State of Arizona, Mr. Campbell, is not only a gentleman of excellent judgment but accurate expression. The supporters of the Smith-McNary reclamation bill are beginning to be seriously disturbed over the situation respecting that bill. This might not to be a political question. It is an economic, a business, question, and citizens of the West, of the South, and of the East have perceived the importance of this legislation. Only four days since a group of certain Republican editors of the Press Association of the State of Washington manfully served notice on the Republican Party that unless this Congress enacted the Smith-McNary reclamation bill they would no longer consider themselves bound to support the Republican Party. I read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (p. 8077 of the proceedings of Tuesday, May 23). The telegram was inserted in the RECORD by the distinguished senior Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] and is as follows:

YAKIMA, WASH., *May 20, 1922.*

WESLEY L. JONES, *Washington, D. C.:*

Following a meeting here to-day of the Yakima-Benton-Kittitas group of the Washington State Press Association, Republican members of the group adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the Republican Party in the last national campaign gave to the voters of the Nation its pledge to put into operation a speeded-up and enlarged program of reclamation; and

"Whereas the McNary-Smith bill, now pending in Congress, was framed as a fulfillment of that pledge and as such has received the official sanction of the administration; and

"Whereas said McNary-Smith bill has been unanimously recommended for passage by committees in both Houses of Congress; and

"Whereas enactment of said McNary-Smith bill will stimulate business and industry, relieve unemployment, contribute materially to the Nation's wealth, and inure to the special benefit of the returned soldiers without prejudice or preference to any project, section, or district of the unreclaimed areas of the Nation: Now therefore be it

"*Resolved by the following Republican newspaper publishers of the State of Washington*, That failure of the Republican majority in Congress to pass the said McNary-Smith bill at the present session will be regarded by us as an inexcusable breach of faith on the part of the national Republican Party, and we hereby declare that we no longer consider ourselves, either by reason of our past affiliations or the party's future promises bound to continue our support of the national Republican Party."

Republican newspapers represented at to-day's meeting were Ellensburg Record, Sunnyside Sun, Grandview Herald, Wapato Independent, Toppenish Review, Toppenish Tribune, Kennewick Courier-Reporter, Zillah Mirror, Richland Advocate, Prosser Record-Bulletin.

I am of opinion that this dispatch which the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES] caused to be inserted in the RECORD expresses the view of a vast majority of the American people, irrespective of party. I have spoken in season, and some say out of season, here in the Senate pointing out the necessity for the early enactment of this Smith-McNary reclamation bill, and I have said to Republicans here and elsewhere that it was their duty to pass this bill and that they can make no greater contribution to the happiness and the prosperity of the people of this country than to pass the Smith-McNary reclamation bill.

The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] has labored for this legislation with a zeal and a diligence unsurpassed during my time here.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] knows, and he has impressed the committee with the idea, that if the landless returned soldier is to obtain a tract of land and is to become a farmer the eligible means to that end is to be found through the passage of this Smith-McNary reclamation bill. Through the efforts of the senior Senator from Oregon and through the efforts of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], the title or name of the old Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands has had stricken from it the words "of arid lands," so that now I say to you from the banks of the Mississippi River overflows its banks the Smith-McNary reclamation bill, when it becomes a law, will afford an opportunity for you to stay the devastating floods and reclaim the lands. In the true philosophy of government need we have as much right to reclaim swamp lands as we have to irrigate arid lands, and I am in favor of doing both, *both* for the benefit of the people. A government is a harness with which to draw civilization's load.

The moment a citizen becomes a landowner he becomes a stockholder in the Republic, and no government can with safety ignore the question of affording to industrious persons an opportunity to acquire a home. Reclamation of lands is practical, yet ideal; it is one of the noblest tasks our Nation could perform.

We of to-day are the tragic generation. Vast unrest everywhere, much unemployment distresses the people, and no grander or more utilitarian work could be done than to reclaim, for the benefit of the people, our now idle, unutilized lands. Hear me while I read from the report on the Smith-McNary reclamation bill, as written by the Senator from Oregon, wherein he quoted from a great Babylonian monarch:

I have made the canal of Hammurabi a blessing for the people of Shamir and Accad. I have distributed the waters by branch canals over these desert plains. I have made water flow in dry channels and have given an unfailing supply to the people. I have changed these plains into well-watered lands. I have given them fertility and plenty, and made them the abode of happiness.

I am glad that the suggestions urging action on this bill have come from the other side, as this relieves the discussion of any partisan charge. I saw the dispatch yesterday which the Senator from Washington placed into the RECORD, but I felt a hesitancy about discussing it here, because those gentlemen were Republican editors; but the Senator from Washington, in placing that statement into the RECORD, again proved himself to be what we all know him to be, a fair man, who labors earnestly for things not only for the good of his party but for the good of his country.

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#19

Investigation of the Department of Justice

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 5, 1924

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I intended to advert to the opinion of Judge Cochran, but the discussion just concluded is so illuminating that it is unnecessary to consume time upon that subject other than to say that the opinion labors through 30 pages of typewritten matter and finally says that Congress may appropriate $4,000,000,000 annually but that it has not the power to inquire where one penny of the $4,000,000,000 goes or how one penny thereof is spent.

I would not have asked the Senate to hear me this afternoon except for the fact that from the day the committee began to hold its hearings upon the investigation of the régime of Harry M. Daugherty it has been subjected to a rapid-fire volley of abuse, slander, vilification, and attempted intimidation. Of that treatment we probably have no complaint. When the five Senators assumed the duty of serving on the committee to investigate the Attorney General's department under Mr. Daugherty's activities they knew they were "going into harm's way." Let us review the facts.

The Daugherty investigating committee, of which the Senator from Iowa [Mr. BROOKHART] is chairman, was elected by the Senate. Membership on that committee is no place for a dilletante; service on that committee requires its members to give and to receive hard blows. Your committee struck hard blows, but they were fair blows and they were aimed in defense of the temple of justice. Each individual member of the committee contributed his due part to this work. We have not always agreed amongst ourselves as to procedure; indeed, when one reflects upon the magnitude of the subject, its vast ramifications and its multitudinous details, it could not be expected that we could agree in all respects; but I say for the RECORD that each member of this committee has held steadfastly to the main purpose, namely, to discover the truth.

My classical friend, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FESS], whose works I read with delight, to-day demonstrated in a few moments that he is not a lawyer. I admire his scholarship, but a man may be a scholar and yet never have read law; a man may be a lawyer and yet not be a scholar. By my classically learned friend from Ohio complained about the character of the testimony. I did not apprehend, until I heard his remark, that I would be obliged to read an excerpt from Greenleaf on Evidence. Senators will pardon me for this perform-

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#20

Compensation to Ex-Service Persons with Arrested Cases of Tuberculosis

SPEECHES

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, June 26, 1926

AMENDMENT OF WORLD WAR VETERANS' ACT

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 12175) to amend the World War veterans' act, 1924, which had been reported from the Committee on Finances with amendments.

* * * * *

Mr. ASHURST. I have an amendment to offer to the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 16, after the word "regulations," in line 17, insert:

That any ex-service person shown to have had a tuberculous disease of a compensable degree, who in the judgment of the director has reached a condition of complete arrest of his disease, shall receive compensation of not less than $50 per month: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this provision shall deny a beneficiary the right to receive a temporary total rating for six months after discharge from a one year's period of hospitalization: *Provided, further,* That no payments under this provision shall be retroactive and the payments hereunder shall commence from the date of the passage of this act or the date the disease reaches a condition of arrest, whichever be the later date.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I shall, if not interrupted, require but a few minutes to explain this amendment. I introduced it on June 9 and it has been printed. It proposes to pay a compensation of $50 a month to ex-service men who have had a tuberculous disease of compensable degree, but who in the judgment of the Director of the Veterans' Bureau have reached a condition of complete arrest of the disease.

I shall compress and compact my argument as much as may be. Let it be remembered that in dealing with tuberculosis there is not only a medical but a social-economic aspect which sometimes baffles physicians. In the case of the amputation of a limb, for example, once the stump is healed the degree of disability is determinate or at least determinable. In the case of tuberculosis the reverse is true, for the reason that tuberculosis is not a self-limiting disease or injury, but is a chronic inflammatory condition which may go on for many years and may be marked by alternate periods of activity or quiescence. A person afflicted with tuberculosis, in what we term in the

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(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Boulder Dam

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 17, 1930

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, during the years I have served in the Senate, I have seldom risen to a question of privilege to complain of anything published about me in a newspaper, and I do not now arise to chant any Jeremiads about any article concerning myself, but I do arise to comment upon an editorial published on June 13 last by the Washington Daily News, entitled "Arizona Out of Step."

As to myself personally, it is doubtful if any other Senator of our generation has been the recipient of more generous treatment from the press than I have received. Indeed, the only complaint I have ever made of newspapers is that they have overpraised me.

Moreover, I take no stock in the lamentations over the so-called inaccuracies of the newspapers. When we consider the inherent difficulties encountered, and the enormous amount of work involved in assembling, or rounding up, and publishing a chronicle of a day's events, it is a marvel and a wonder that a daily newspaper makes so near an approach to accuracy in the news items. The newspaper reporter seldom has time for deliberate aim, but must frequently "shoot from the hip," and of course sometimes misses the mark. Regarding the preparation of editorials it is, however, somewhat different. There is time in the editorial room to turn the stylus, opportunity to deliberate, to consult official documents, to verify data, to frame arguments, and to work out results with at least a moderate degree of consideration, but the editorial, which I now read from the Washington Daily News does not seem to bear the indicia of that attempt at accuracy which usually characterizes the editorials in that journal.

The editorial is as follows:

ARIZONA OUT OF STEP

In the matter of the first Boulder Dam appropriation, it is urgently suggested that Arizona's Senators get into step with the United States of America.

For years, while the Southwest has been putting through the great project Arizonans have played dog in the manger. To-day in their attempts to sabotage the project they appear not only as obstructionists to the Southwest but to themselves. They are fighting, not California, not the six cooperating States of the Colorado River Basin. They are taking on for a fight their greatest benefactor—Uncle Sam.

No State in the Union has benefited more from Federal aid than Arizona. In comparison to its population and private investments more has been spent by the Interior Department in Arizona than in any other State. The great Roosevelt Dam, the Salt River Valley reclamation project around Phoenix, the Grand Canyon Park, the big Indian reservations—these and others stand as monuments to Uncle Sam's generosity. Arizona's present and future depend upon Washington's good will. At the moment Arizona is biting the hand that has fed her.

No State knows better than Arizona the truth of Secretary Wilbur's recent words: "In the West the desert is the common enemy and a united front must be presented to it." Now after bitter years of conflict the united West is united against the desert on the lower Colorado. All but Arizonans.

Mr. ASHURST. If some heedless person should go to the financial department of the Daily News, draw a pistol and demand the contents of the strong box or of the cash register, would the fiscal agent of the Daily News be playing "dog in the manger" if he resisted such an insolent demand?

Opulent with ironies as are all human affairs, I do not at this moment recall a more grim irony than the statement that, although Arizona furnishes about 28 per cent of the waters of the Colorado River, and California furnishes no water to that stream, all, or practically all, of Arizona's share of the water shall be taken by the coastal cities of southern California and that Arizona shall be stigmatized as a "dog in the manger," because she will not consent to the transaction.

Here, in this editorial, is an occult gem which glistens like an opidian eye:

Arizona's present and future depend upon Washington's good will.

The canary's present and future depend upon the cat's good will. If Washington's measure of good will toward Arizona is made manifest by and is to be measured by the present Boulder Dam plan, which disregards equity, law, and the Constitution, then the less we have of such Washington good will the better off we shall be.

The truth is Arizona's future—like the future of every State and every individual—depends upon how valiantly such State or such individual fights for its rights.

Arizona is not so pale and anemic, so weak and flabby that she must needs forsooth depend upon the Federal Government for subsistence; Arizona scorns all bribes and wears no chains.

And here is a jewel from this editorial, more gorgeous than any gem ever possessed by an oriental rajah:

At the moment Arizona is biting the hands that feed her.

Under the present Boulder Dam proposal, Arizona is indeed invited to a feast—but it is a Barmecidal feast, a Barmecidal feast, where the host makes only a pretense of serving viands, and at which feast there is simply an illusion of plenty whilst the viands are all imaginary. Federal agents may by force sieze, usurp, and appropriate Arizona's rights, but no army will ever be strong enough to conquer Arizona's resentment against wrong and injustice.

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#22

Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

Copper—Roads on Indian Reservations—Ex-Service Men

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

December 8, 1930

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, for the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] and myself, I present a petition signed by Mr. H. S. Hillman and 2,460 other citizens of Cochise County, Ariz., asking for a tariff on raw copper admitted into the United States. I ask that the body of the petition and the first name be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the petition was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HON. HENRY ASHURST,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned miners and employees of the mines and smelters at Bisbee and Douglas and business men of this district, earnestly petition you to exert all possible effort to obtain a tariff on copper, which we believe is justified by the facts:

Production of copper in the United States in 1929 strikes almost an exact balance with the United States copper consumption of that year.

We are not exporters of copper except upon account of the vast amount of copper that comes in from South America and other foreign countries free from duty for refining and sale.

The Standard Statistics, of New York, says on August 18: "The drastic decline of nearly 50 per cent in production in the United States this year has not been duplicated by the other producing sections of the world."

This is working decidedly to our disadvantage and to the advantage of the laboring man in South America and other foreign countries.

Mr. Gordon R. Campbell, president of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Co., in a recent statement said: "The development of immense deposits of copper in South America, Africa, and Canada and free importation and sale of copper produced from these mines is undoubtedly placing the position of the whole copper mining industry of the United States in a very precarious position, and the necessity for a tariff on copper to protect American mines and miners against foreign invasion is becoming more apparent every day. The American copper miner is no more able to compete against cheap foreign labor and low taxation than is the labor in the manufacturing districts in the East."

Conditions in Bisbee and other mining camps in Arizona (as well as in the other copper mining districts of the country) have never been in as bad shape before as they are at the present time, although we have been subject to periodical lay offs and wage reductions for the past 20 years. We believe a copper tariff would do much to eliminate this condition.

We sincerely hope you will give the subject of our petition careful consideration.

Most respectfully submitted.

H. S. HILLMAN, *Lowell, Ariz.*

Mr. ASHURST. I also ask, in this connection, that there be printed a letter from the chairman of the Tariff Commission, who makes a comment respecting the proposed duty on copper.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, December 5, 1930.

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of December 1, transmitting a petition signed by a number of citizens of Arizona urging a tariff on copper, presumably raw copper, now admitted free of duty.

Paragraph (g) of section 336 of the tariff act of 1930 specifically provides "Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize a transfer of an article from the dutiable list to the free list or from the free list to the dutiable list * * *."

Under these circumstances the Tariff Commission is powerless to assist the petitioners in this matter. Inasmuch as tariff legislation must by law originate in the House of Representatives, perhaps you will wish to inform the signers of that fact, and we accordingly return the petition to you herewith.

Very truly yours,

HENRY P. FLETCHER,
Chairman.

RELIEF OF WORLD WAR VETERANS

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD correspondence between the Director of the Veterans' Bureau and myself with regard to ex-service men receiving statutory awards for arrested tuberculosis.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 25, 1930.

Col. GEORGE E. IJAMS,
Director United States Veterans' Bureau.

DEAR COLONEL IJAMS: When H. R. 12175 was pending in the Senate of the Sixty-ninth Congress I offered the following amendment, which amendment was adopted by the Senate and which became a part of Public, No. 448, and for the lack of a better description has come to be known as the Ashurst amendment, to wit:

"That any ex-service person shown to have had a tuberculosis disease of a compensable degree, who, in the judgment of the director, has reached a condition of complete arrest of his disease, shall receive compensation of not less than $50 per month: *Provided, however*, That nothing in this provision shall deny a beneficiary the right to receive a temporary total rating for six months after discharge from a one year's period of hospitalization: *Provided further*, That no payments under this provision shall be retroactive and the payments hereunder shall commence from the date of the passage of this act or the date the disease reaches a condition of arrest, whichever be the later date."

Will you please inform me as to the number of ex-service men now receiving compensation under the provisions of my amendment; and also please further advise me as to the gross sum of money (compensation) which to date has been paid to ex-service men under and by virtue of this Ashurst amendment?

Sincerely yours,

HENRY F. ASHURST,
United States Senator.

UNITED STATES VETERANS' BUREAU,
Washington, December 4, 1930.

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR ASHURST: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 25, 1930, requesting information as to the number of ex-service men now receiving statutory awards for arrested tuberculosis and the cost of this amendment to date.

Statutory awards of $50 are being paid to 42,331 veterans for tuberculosis which has reached a condition of complete arrest and to date the cost of this amendment is approximately $73,800,000 over and above the compensation which would have been paid under the rate in effect prior to this amendment.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE E. IJAMS, *Director.*

ROADS ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the RECORD correspondence between the Indian Bureau and myself relative to the appropriation "Roads, Indian reservations, 1929–30."

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 24, 1930.

HON. CHARLES J. RHOADS,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

DEAR MR. COMMISSIONER: During the Seventieth Congress I secured the enactment of the following law:

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#23

Tariff on Copper

Speech of

Hon. Henry F. Ashurst

of Arizona

in the

Senate of the United States

Friday, May 6, 1932

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States
Government Printing Office
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(Not printed at Government expense)

ADMISSIONS TAX

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 26, 1932

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I earnestly wish to assist in balancing the Budget and am sorry to disagree with the committee on this item. I have gone along with the committee on practically everything, but I invite attention to the deplorable fact that the spoken drama in the United States is now almost extinguished. I do not believe we have reached such a deplorable place in our history that we would be willing unfairly to tax or to penalize the spoken drama or the talkie movie.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Arizona yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. ASHURST. I yield.

Mr. WAGNER. I hold in my hand an amendment which I propose to offer to exempt the spoken drama from the imposition of this tax. As soon as the pending amendment is disposed of I shall offer it.

Mr. ASHURST. I am glad to hear that. Mr. President, I am opposed to admission taxes, whether for the spoken drama or the talkie movies. Such taxes are only an irritant—they are like unto a dash of tabasco sauce in the eye and will be deeply resented by the American people. Some well-informed persons argue that the theaters and talkie movies are luxuries and amusements only. That they are, from one angle, "amusements" is quite true; that they possess facilities for disseminating interesting information of much practical value, especially to those persons who can not spare the time or money to travel, is none the less true.

It is also true that the theaters and the talkie movies make contributions to art, belles-lettres literature, music, science, and philosophy, and appeal to and help to gratify that inborn cultural and artistic yearning inherent in every normal person; although in some breasts this yearning is meager and obscure, and sometimes is deeply hidden.

Robert Burns, during a flash of his shining genius, wrote, in his address to the Unco Guid, or in his address to a Louse, I do not for the moment remember which, "Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us to see ourselves as others see us."

The stage artists, the screen artists, and the vaudeville artists hold the mirror up to nature and only through them do we ever see ourselves as others see us.

On the stage and on the screen we see our own weaknesses, foibles, and pretentions made plain and then corrected. On the stage and on the screen the richness of human experience is laid before us, and all that is beautiful, all that is tragic, and all that is mournful in man's destiny is clearly shown.

The penetrating skill, the Attic salt, and the humor of the screen artist and the stage artist expose the shams and frivolities of a particular epoch and not infrequently teach a nation the way of truth.

The plays of Aeschylus and of Euripides taught the Greeks to meet disaster becomingly and to realize that although Fate spins a strange pattern and motif into every career, such circumstance affords no reason for a refusal to meet life courageously and cheerfully.

The comedies of Shakespeare enriched England, softened the cruelties of his time, and gave seasonable advice and admonition to monarch, to lords, and commons. There would have been no polished Elizabethan England except for Shakespeare, who appeared personally in some of his own plays, notably his Twelfth Night, which he acted in 1602, and from the stage poured gentle satire upon vanity and injustice.

I do not doubt that Schiller and Goethe helped Germany, and I am certain that Molière and Rostand and Bernhardt enriched France. Who can measure the joy and the emotional sympathy that Dion Boucicault gave to the world? He was called the scribe of the American and English stage and had 124 dramas to his credit.

Unnumbered thousands of our own generation have been charmed by the melodious airs and clever rhymes of the Gilbert and Sullivan light operas and the talent of those two gentlemen was so exceptional and their criticisms of official smugness and complacency were so deft and subtle that their productions were given audition and applause by the most prim and rigid of the Mid-Victorians.

It would be impossible to estimate the ennobling influence showered upon our Nation by such characters as Edwin Booth and David Belasco.

Amidst the gloom of the depression and out of the darkness of the country's financial and industrial misfortune, there suddenly beamed forth, last winter, when the clouds were lowering, five stars, five distinguished Thespians to tour our country: The superb Maude Adams and the well-beloved Otis Skinner revived the Merchant of Venice; William Gillette came back to us in Sherlock Holmes; Ethel Barrymore reproduced Sheridan's School for Scandal; and Walter Hampden gave us again glorious Cyrano de Bergerac, the fascinating yet futile lover, poet, duelist, and hero of seventeenth century France. How many weary hours these artists beguiled; how many desolate hearts they encouraged; how many of our citizens learned anew from them that moderation, forbearance, and restraint are the virtues of victory and prosperity and that fortitude, patience, and courage are the virtues of disaster and defeat.

The drama is coextensive with the people and of all the arts, save music, it is probably the dearest to the human race. The stage is akin to poetry in that it is a great expression of human emotion. The stage is a vision of the romance inseparable from every human life; it is a magical place, breathing the inspiration of color and sound; a place for high thoughts, splendid truths, and beautiful words, for objects vividly observed and gorgeously imagined.

The stage is art. Art is truth, and in the final sum of worldly things, Only art endures; the sculptures outlast the dynasty, the colors outlive DeVinci, "the coin outlasts Tiberius."

When Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, desired a rehearsal of the play which was to confound his uncle the king he said to the players: "Come, give us a taste of your quality." After the players had recited Hamlet turned to Polonius, the lord chamberlain, and said:

My lord, will you see the players well bestowed? Do you hear, let them be well used, for they are the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time; after your death you were better have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you lived.

So, Mr. President, when our citizens, after a day devoted to the cities and claims of this fevered life, go to the theater or to the talkie movies, there to renew their exhausted strength, there mayhap to escape for an hour from the specter of their baffled hopes, from their broken ideals or evaporated illusions, so common in this complex machine age, or there to be spared for an evening from the fardels and the clangor of a bewildered world, let them not be met with a Federal admission tax, which, as I said before, is a vexatious, corrosive, pestiferous irritant.

Mr. SHORTRIDGE obtained the floor.

Mr. DILL. Mr. President, does not the Senator from California think it might be well to vote before the effect of the beautiful and oratorical address of the Senator from Arizona has lost its influence?

Mr. SHORTRIDGE. I quite agree with the Senator, but I should like also to pay tribute to the address to which we have just listened. It does credit to one who already has a splendid reputation for learning and for oratory in its nobler phases.

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Method of Ratification of Amendment to the Constitution

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

February 15, 1933

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President——

Mr. WALSH of Montana. The Senator from Arizona has some very interesting information upon that aspect of the matter, and I yield to him for the present.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I hold the same view as the Senator from Montana respecting the nonvalidity of a ratification by a convention which is not called by the legislature or authorized by a State, among other reasons, for the following:

On March 2, 1861, the so-called Corwin amendment, prohibiting Congress from interfering with slavery within the States, was submitted by Congress. That amendment was ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Ohio and Maryland. Later there happened to be in session in the State of Illinois a convention that had been called to revise the constitution of that State; that convention discussed the proposed Corwin amendment to the Constitution and ratified the amendment, or at least attempted to do so. The lawyers of that day argued against the validity of such ratification in Illinois, and Illinois was never included by historians or lawyers among the States ratifying, for two reasons, one of which, of course, was all-conclusive, in that the Corwin amendment was not submitted by the Congress to conventions, and, secondly, many constitutional lawyers pointed out that the convention in Illinois was not called by the legislature to ratify or to pass upon an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

February 22, 1933

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I hope that what I now say may prove to be timely and efficacious in forestalling what might lead to a serious error, namely, a number of lawyers, some of them highly respectable in ability, are promulgating opinions that Congress has the power to prescribe the method in which the States should call conventions to ratify the amendment to the Constitution recently proposed by the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 211.

Mr. President, when Congress proposes—that is to say, submits—an amendment, the function of the Congress therewith has ended. When Congress proposes or submits an amendment, its functions as to that amendment are completed, and Congress has no power to recall that action.

It is harmful for the country to get the impression that the Congress will or should consider the question of enacting any law which will prescribe for the States the kind or nature of conventions the States shall hold to consider ratification thereof. The States would resent—and justly resent—the enactment of such a law by Congress. I am convinced that if Congress attempted to prescribe the nature, form, or character of conventions, or how the conventions should be called or conducted, and if the controversy could ever reach the Supreme Court of the United States, that court would declare such act of Congress to be beyond the authority of Congress.

Mr. President, there is, or at least there should be, no complexity about the question; Article V of the Constitution of the United States grants to Congress the power to propose amendments to the Federal Constitution, and it also grants to Congress the discretion and right to choose whether proposed amendments shall be ratified by the legislatures of or conventions in the several States. If Congress chooses the legislature, the States are restricted in ratifying to the legislature. If Congress chooses the convention, then the States are restricted in ratifying to the convention. Congress has no power or authority to interfere with the action of a State in regard to calling such convention.

Mr. President, suppose some State, instead of clinging to a bicameral legislature, should conclude to have a one-chambered legislature—as indeed one of the States for a time did have—that fact would not resolve the legislature of that State into a convention; it would be a legislature nevertheless. Therefore timely warning should be sounded against any proposal to appropriate money from the Federal Treasury to pay the expenses of conventions in the various States.

The States have plenary power to call their own respective conventions. Congress has no right, no authority, and no business to attempt to dictate to the States how they shall call these conventions. If a State desires to have 150 delegates in its convention, or desires to have 50 delegates, that is the right, duty, and function of the State, and the Federal Government would be an offensive and unconstitutional intruder if it attempted to dictate to the States what sort of a convention should be held, or how the delegates should be apportioned or selected.

Mr. KEAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ASHURST. I yield.

Mr. KEAN. I would like to ask the Senator whether the way to get at this, so as to settle the whole thing, would not be for Congress to pass a resolution asking the Attorney General to render an opinion to Congress as to its right and as to the rights of the States.

Mr. ASHURST. I have no objection to the Attorney General furnishing an opinion, but I doubt if he would care to do so. I fail to perceive why there should be doubt and complexity about the question. It has astonished me that eminent lawyers, including a former Attorney General, of large ability, apparently take the view that Congress should or may prescribe the mode to be followed by the conventions in the several States.

Possibly some of the confusion and complexity arises from this circumstance, that whilst the original Constitution was, indeed, submitted to conventions in the States, every amendment except the instant case has been submitted to the legislatures of the several States, rather than to conventions in the several States.

My view is that it would be offensive, unconstitutional, almost insulting, to the States for the Federal Government to attempt in any way to dictate to the States how or in what manner they should choose the delegates or hold the conventions. That is left to the respective States.

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Transient Relief—Copper Code—Papago Indians

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

February 20, 1933, March 9 and 10, 1934

Monday, February 20, 1933

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, with due respect for the conclusions of the Senator from Iowa, I do not agree with him. Without intending to use offensive language, to say to a man in these days "Go home", is equivalent to telling him to go to Hades. Many of those for whom this provision is sought to be made have no homes. Their homes were shattered before they started out upon the road.

Mr. President, I am in favor of the Wagner substitute. Consider the conditions: The head of the house lost his job, his position, the home was mortgaged, and the mortgage was foreclosed. The elder son, probably all the sons, left school, and the daughters likewise, hoping to secure work to aid the parents. Weary, embarrassed, and out of sheer self-respect, they left their native village, their native county or State, to go forth as our fathers did in other but happier days, to try to carve from the granite face of fate a livelihood for themselves and for those left at home.

Unable to secure employment, they have for months tramped the highways and the streets, and many men with antecedents just as worthy as the antecedents of any Senator here have been reduced to a position where they have almost lost their own self-respect.

For them it is no longer a matter of securing a "job", no longer a matter of securing a position; it is a matter of securing clothing; it is a matter of securing sufficient food to enable them to continue an animal existence.

There has come with this calamitous depression, and naturally comes, a loss of ideals, an evaporation of hope, far more baleful and tragic than the mere loss of money, or even the loss of the home.

They have no home to which they may go. The distress at the home village would only be emphasized and increased if they went "home." They would, forsooth, go back in rags, hungry, in many instances covered with vermin, and be obliged to confess to their already stricken relatives and friends at "home" that they have not been able to earn a dollar during their long wanderings to send back to the old home.

Mr. President, only the most desperate emergency would call for legislation of this sort, but a desperate emergency is upon us. It is worse than war. In war time the national banner floats bravely in the sky, the speeches of the orators encourage and stimulate men and women, and the heroic voice of silver bugles calls them forth. But in circumstances such as those now upon us, men must take courage only from the reservoirs of their own souls. Men receive no encouragement from the orators or from the bugles. There is no romance, no glamour; all is drab, dull, and hopeless. Each man thus tramping has a body of death chained to himself. Each man has a sad soul, and his heart is an aching, lumpish thing. Each man thus wandering almost wishes he could separate himself from an existence here if this condition is to be continued.

Therefore I say, Mr. President, it is an emergency greater than war; it is a distress more poignant than any war; and I support the provision now pending. With due deference I oppose the amendment of my learned friend from Iowa but I ask the Senator from New York, whose benevolence and whose ability shine throughout this country and whose leadership will be followed and ought to be followed, in my judgment, to accept an amendment by which I propose, on page 3, line 22, after the word "transients", to insert the words "who are American citizens."

Mr. President, my reason for offering this amendment is We of the Southwest have an international line of nearly 2,000 miles. Aliens in vast numbers are bootlegged across that line, and it is more than our respective States may do to feed and care for our own people. But, whether or not my amendment shall be adopted, I shall support the provision offered by the Senator from New York, and it would be helpful if the amendment I have offered could be added so that this sort of relief shall be furnished only to American citizens. I ask that my amendment be adopted.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, February 28, 1934.

Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST,
United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR ASHURST: I am in receipt of your letter of February 24. We are putting into Arizona for transient care something like $250,000 per month, more than in any other State in the Union, more than we are putting into Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Missouri combined.

Very truly yours,

AUBREY WILLIAMS,
Assistant Administrator.

Friday, March 9, 1934

THE COPPER CODE

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of the remarks I shall make on the so-called "copper code" an analysis prepared by the labor organizations of Gila County, Ariz., respecting that code, and also a telegram on the same subject from the Lions Club of Phoenix, Ariz.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. ASHURST. A copy of the analysis has been forwarded to Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the N.R.A. It discloses that this copper code is worse than useless.

I have also had this copper code examined by three of the most experienced and trustworthy copper producers in the United States, and they severally denounce it as a discrimination against American labor and against the American copper mining industry. It is a profound pity that such an injustice is about to be perpetrated. Any competent, courageous man familiar with copper could write a code that would save the copper-mining industry in the United States and would set to work within the next 90 days at least 150,000 copper miners and smelter men.

I am beginning to believe that many, if not most, of our woes and troubles in this life are nothing more than human folly directed against human beings. This copper code is human folly directed against American citizens.

Some well-informed persons have denounced this code as ill-prepared, doubtful in meaning, and poorly constructed; in other words, experts assert that this code, in the language of the street, is "half-baked." Be that as it may, I prefer

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

Monday, March 13, 1933

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I have received, as doubtless many Senators have, a large number of telegraphic dispatches respecting Senate bill No. 233, a bill to maintain the credit of the United States Government. One of the dispatches reads as follows:

I feel it my duty to advise that your future success is in grave danger if you uphold granting presidential power.

Another reads:

Your attitude very unsatisfactory. You are taking $6,300,000 annually from Arizona, and are politically dead unless you change your attitude.

Mr. President, sometime ago I made the astonishing and for awhile, to myself, the distressing discovery that the perpetuity of the American Government did not absolutely depend upon the reelection of one HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST to the Senate of the United States.

When a Senator makes such a discovery at first the fact appears incredible. It seems as if the stars above his head had faded and the earth had slipped beneath his feet. But, as time rolls on, such a discovery proves to be a real antidote to megalomania; and the further flight of time brings to the discoverer a serenity and a humility to be envied by the world's greatest philosophers.

It may be, Mr. President, that the perpetuity of the American Republic does not depend upon my reelection to the Senate; but the perpetuity of the Republic may indeed depend upon granting to the President the authority to make the economies called for in his message to Congress.

Thursday, January 4, 1934

TAXATION OF INCOME FROM UNITED STATES SECURITIES

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I submit a concurrent resolution and ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will read the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (S.Con.Res. 6) was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that all the income and interest from all bonds or other certificates of indebtedness hereafter issued by the Government of the United States shall be taxable by the United States.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TAX-EXEMPT SECURITIES

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 7 minutes on the proposed taxation of the income and interest on Government bonds.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Senator has permission to speak for 7 minutes.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, on March 10, 1933, I introduced a joint resolution (S.J.Res. 7) proposing to amend the Constitution, granting to the United States the power, after the ratification, to lay and collect taxes on incomes derived from securities issued under the authority of any State or of the United States. The joint resolution is as follows:

Senate Joint Resolution 7

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to taxes on certain incomes

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each House concurring thereto), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. The United States shall have power to lay and collect taxes on income derived from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of any State but without discrimination against income derived from such securities and in favor of income derived from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of the United States or any other State.

"SEC. 2. Each State shall have power to lay and collect taxes on income derived by its residents from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of the United States but without discrimination against income derived from such securities and in favor of income derived from securities issued after the ratification of this article by or under the authority of such State."

Mr. President, in introducing my joint resolution, I pioneered no new movement, but only resumed the task that was begun by more capable hands than my own, for it will be remembered that in the Sixty-seventh Congress, second session, Mr. William R. Green, of Iowa, introduced House Joint Resolution 314, of which my joint resolution is an identical copy, and it will, of course, also be remembered that Mr. Green's resolution on January 23, 1923, received the required two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives, but was not agreed to by the Senate. The vote in the House was yeas 223, nays 101, answered present 3, not voting 101.

Many lawyers, respectable in ability, are of opinion, in view of the sixteenth amendment, that no further constitutional amendment is necessary in order to lay and to collect taxes on incomes and interest derived from securities issued by the United States or by any State.

I must admit that the majority opinion of the bar is that a constitutional amendment is required.

Moreover we may not ignore the following recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, holding that the sixteenth amendment did not extend the taxing power to any new class of subjects, but merely removed all occasion, which otherwise might exist, for an apportionment among the States, of taxes laid on income, whether it be derived from one source or another. (*Brushaber* v. *Union Pacific R.R.* Co., 240 U.S. 1; *Peck & Co.* v. *Lowe*, 247 U.S. 165, 172; *Eisner* v. *Macomber*, 252 U.S. 189; *Evans* v. *Gore*, 253 U.S. 245, 259; *Metcalf and Eddy* v. *Mitchell, Admx.*, 269 U.S. 514, 521.)

Therefore, in view of these decisions, expensive and protracted litigation may be avoided by this amendment, which if submitted by the Congress would probably be ratified by the States before the question could directly and finally be decided by the courts.

Mr. President, it is interesting to observe that the first exemption of income of State and municipal bonds from such taxation was announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in its famous decision, declaring all Federal income taxes unconstitutional; *Pollock* v. *Farmers' Loan & Trust* Co., 157 U.S. 429 et seq.

Should my proposed amendment be submitted and ratified, the case of Pollock against Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. will have the unique distinction of bringing two amendments to the Constitution, or rather two amendments were required to overcome the effects of that decision.

My proposed amendment strikes at an evil in our system of taxation which is already great, and if unchecked, will grow—indeed has grown—to such magnitude as to threaten the existence of our institutions. We must assume that the Constitution of the United States, as it now stands, not only permits the issuance of tax-exempt securities by both the Federal and the State Governments but prevents the Federal Government on the one hand from levying an income tax on securities issued by the several States, and the States on the other hand, from levying an income tax on the securities issued by the Federal Government.

Students of our form of government recognize, of course, that the question is complicated owing to the very nature of our constitutional system of dual Governments, Federal and State.

The existence of conditions that enable any municipality or political subdivision to issue tax-free securities directly permits a certain class of property owners to partake of the comforts and benefits of Government without bearing any share of the expense-burden of Government.

All private property should pay its just proportion of the expense of maintaining the Government.

The issuance of tax-exempt securities permits:

(1) A large portion of property to escape taxation, thereby causing great loss of revenue;

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Article by Charles Brooks Smith in Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 25, 1934

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer, on the subject of Senator HENRY F. ASHURST, of Arizona.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer]

The press gallery viewpoint is that veteran Senator HENRY F. ASHURST (D.), of Arizona, is colorful copy. There are two kinds of colorful copy. ASHURST's kind is good taste.

Poor Sadie Thompson's affectionate salutation to her sailor rescuer and lover (and didn't it rain!) fits ASHURST—"tall and handsome." He's consummate courtesy in debate; a graceful gesticulator. He is master of a gentle sarcasm, which never scratches skin, and the exponent of a decent humor which sparkles like a flawless white diamond.

Which goes to prove that you can make a statesman out of an old-time cowboy; rather, he can make himself that if he wants to give up cows for college, has the will and the stuff in him to rise.

The refreshing thing in him is that he does and says things differently. He can be—and inherently is—original; he's no stereotype, no copycat—which is enough in itself to set him apart as "not like they." And he can be like this—be himself—within the scope of propriety.

This strikes us as rare and unusual. We don't know why—we can't make ourself clear about it—but somehow it does.

An incident of the Senate proceedings yesterday, typical of the subject of our sketch, gives a key to an understanding of him. It illuminates our struggling picturization of the Arizonian like a klieg light. We quote him:

"Mr. President, I fondly believed, for some years, that I was sterilized and vaccinated against the vicious habit of reading letters into the RECORD, but it now appears that the habit has recurred.

"My most constant and most savage critic is a leading Democratic daily newspaper in Arizona, to wit, the Arizona Daily Star. I have received a letter from the editor of that journal; and his arguments in opposing my views on certain public questions are so well stated that I telegraphed to him securing his permission to have the letter read into the RECORD.

"I now read my telegram to the editor:

APRIL 15, 1934.

Mr. W. R. MATHEWS,
Editor and Publisher the Arizona Daily Star,
Tucson, Ariz.:

Your letter of April 10 received. You are one of Arizona's leading journalists, and your letter ably argues for your views on seven subjects of legislation now before Congress. Inasmuch as I am at variance with you and do not agree with your conclusions therein expressed, except that I do concur with your opinion that the President should be granted the power to negotiate the reciprocal treaties, I hereby request permission to print your letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Please do not be thin-skinned but imitate me as I am pachydermatous. If you grant me such permission, I shall, of course, print your letter without any deletion. Please write me. Kind regards.

ASHURST."

Request granted, the editor's letter was sent up to the desk, read to the Senate by the Chief Clerk. And a strong constructive criticism of Senator ASHURST's position on seven legislative propositions it was. The Senator delivered no speech in reply.

And wasn't that a decent, fair, just, and honorable thing to do? If it was ever done before during our two decades' observation here, we missed it.

Nothing more need be said to explain ASHURST to you. He explains himself fully and clearly by doing unexpected, unconventional but admirable deeds like this one.

Tax-Exempt Securities

Thursday, January 4, 1934

Mr. ASHURST. My proposed amendment strikes at an evil in our system of taxation which is already great, and if unchecked will grow—indeed has grown—to such magnitude as to threaten the existence of our institutions.

The existence of conditions that enable any municipality or political subdivision to issue tax-free securities directly permits a certain class of property owners to partake of the comforts and benefits of Government without bearing any share of the expense-burden of Government.

All private property should pay its just proportion of the expense of maintaining the Government.

The issuance of tax-exempt securities permits:

(1) A large portion of property to escape taxation, thereby causing great loss of revenue;

(2) It violates the sound tax principle of "ability to pay" and it unfairly discriminates among taxpayers;

(3) It discourages investment in new enterprises;

(4) It encourages extravagances of governmental agencies;

(5) It grants private subsidies and special privileges, obnoxious to our system;

(6) By withdrawing money from private enterprises it increases the rate of interest required for all enterprises not carried on by the Government, and thereby adds to the cost of living;

(7) It creates, and quite naturally, social unrest.

Vigor and vision are the supreme need of the hour, and unless we act with promptness on this subject, the National Government and some of the States will bog down and sink into the grasp of the all-smothering, all-destroying quicksands of insolvency.

Tribute to the Late Senator John B. Kendrick, by Senator Ashurst

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, on the 27th day of April the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] wrote a letter to the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] in which he paid so very eloquent and beautiful a tribute to the memory of the late Senator John B. Kendrick that I think it should be preserved in the RECORD. The letter is as follows:

APRIL 27, 1934.

Hon. JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
United States Senator from Wyoming,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR O'MAHONEY: You were one of the closest friends our departed John B. Kendrick ever knew.

Romance and emprise clustered around him, and although his lips have now partaken of the sacraments of the dust,

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Remarks of

Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST

of Arizona

in the

Senate of the United States

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Remarks of

Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST

of Arizona

in the

Senate of the United States

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CONTROVERSY WITH SENATOR HUEY P. LONG

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, June 15, 1935

Mr. ASHURST. The gravamen of the Senator's speech was that he made an insinuation, if not a direct charge, against absent persons who, under our rules and under the Constitution, are unable to reply. I want the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Long) to understand that I am not adopting the attitude of a censor; I am not trying to correct somebody else; possibly I need correction as much as any Senator here; but, in view of the Senator's charge, I feel a disposition this morning to say that if we walk on the seacoast after a storm at sea has subsided, particularly if the storm was of such violence as to agitate the ocean to an unusual depth and send huge billows upon the shore, we discover curious denizens of the deep from the world of cold and dreadful night below the ocean's surface, that have been upthrust and cast ashore by the fury of the storm. We find wriggling on the beach, crustacea, such as crawfish, shrimps, mudcrabs, and lobsters; among the fish we find the grunt, puffer, pike, toplknot, toadfish, jellyfish, kingfish, starfish, sawfish, stingray, and, indeed, too great a variety of types to admit of a complete definition.

When the sea is calm and tranquil these creatures seldom appear to human vision. Only some unusual agitation brings them from obscurity to conspicuousness.

Mr. President, the same physical principle operates on mankind when the distress of depression, the fury of financial panic and storm, and the terror of economic uncertainty agitates a people. We then are no longer the assured, free-swimming, self-reliant folk we seemed to be when the waters of life were smooth and placid. This law of physics is not peculiar to the American race alone. To all tribes of men, when confronted with any insecurity, whether it be economic, environmental, social, or philosophical, there come dangerous thoughts, feelings, and fears, and thus some men usually called "odd fish", are forced to the surface from the swamps of anonymity.

Many of such men thus projected to conspicuousness are excellent men who believe that they know how to reach the pot of gold at the rainbow's end; how to obtain a living in this practical, brass-tack, workaday world without giving any equivalent therefor; or how to break economic laws and avoid any penalty.

Thus, in these agitated and distressful days, we must expect to encounter whimsical, droll, eccentric, and erratic persons who occupy the stage for a time, and they, at least, divert us, interest us, entertain us, and, I am bound in fairness to add, they sometimes instruct us. Their fatal error is that they refuse to face the fact that only iron sacrifice can rescue a nation from a depression; they never realize that no easy way to achieve success has ever been, or ever will be discovered. It was ordained at the beginning of time that success shall be difficult. No one will ever circumvent destiny on that point, for she has resolved that, in obtaining success, man shall be put upon his mettle until the end of the film. In these recurrent depressions and times of poignant distress, wise and well-balanced men are sometimes confused and saddened and lose track of the simplicity of the rules of life. Moreover, we have complicated our existence to the point where it not only stupefies the ordinary man but defies the comprehension of the wisest man.

In such a whirligig epoch as the present many persons, in normal times sensible, become overwrought and unjustly suspect and defame such of their fellow citizens as do not subscribe to their particular reforms or gyrations.

Therefore, the suspiciousness of the Senator from Louisiana and his intolerant attitude toward and his denunciations of his colleagues, are quite understandable.

Such strictures, reproaches, and intemperate speeches from the Senator from Louisiana are really the wailings of an apostle of despair. He has lost control of himself. He is trying to play billiards with elliptical billiard balls and a spiral cue. He has adopted the apothegm of the French dramatist, Beaumarchais: "Calumniate, calumniate, calumniate; something is sure to stick."

Opulent with irony as are all human affairs, it is a startling paradox that in this particular period of the world's history, when to this generation has been given the keys that control the kingdom of the material sciences, this generation has lost control of itself. This paradox may be placed side by side with those other paradoxes, to wit, that the doctors are much more likely to die of disease than are their patients; that lawyers are more likely to lose their own cases than they are to lose their clients' cases.

Our American race in its hurry to achieve bulk, size, speed, and quantity has learned just enough to weaken our reliance upon tested, durable things; enough to relax our grasp upon durable values, but has found nothing to take the place of the fundamental truths that we have ignored.

Robert Burns, during a flash of his shining genius, wrote in his Address to the Unco Guid, or in his Address to a Louse. I do not for the moment remember which: "Oh, wad some power the giftie gie us to see ourselves as others see us."

Among the many instruments, gadgets, and devices brought forth by the present generation which has tickled the physical world and made her laugh forth so many of her hidden secrets is the recent alleged invention—not yet patented—of the curved telescope with phones for audition and photophones attached, wherewith by the compound refraction of the rays of light a person may put this curved telescope to his eye, the auditory phones to his ears, with the photophone attached, stand upon one side of the street, see himself objectively as well as subjectively, and hear and see precisely how he appears to the man across the street. In other words, with the curved telescope and compound refraction of light, we shall see ourselves exactly as others see us.

I shall now take the Senate into my confidence and say that I have been accorded the opportunity of observing myself through this invention. It was not a pleasant experience. After one look I concluded that I would either mend my ways or never again put such a contraption to my eyes.

It is not for me to pass judgment upon the Senator from Louisiana. He has as much right to pass judgment upon me as I have to appraise him. An attitude of censoriousness is the one attitude the Senate never tolerates and never forgives any of its Members, but I will venture the suggestion that if the Senator from Louisiana should look through this telescope objectively, as he doubtless will some day, for he is of an inquiring mind, he will distinctly perceive a man frequently disrespectful of the rights and feelings of others, exalting himself with an unwarranted sense of superiority over others less gifted and less fortunate than himself; a man too often taking undue advantage of his privileged position here; a man of reckless abandon in speech and relentless in his forays upon those who disagree with him.

Aeschylus, the earliest of the three great Greek tragic poets, was born about 500 B. C. When the poet left Athens he took up residence in Sicily. It will be recalled that the eagles in Sicily had a habit at that time of pouncing down upon large turtles; then, after ascending to a considerable height, dropping the turtles upon stones, cracking the shells, and obtaining the turtles' flesh for a meal.

A legend of doubtful authenticity states that Aeschylus was killed by a large turtle which an eagle let fall upon the head of the poet, mistaking the poet's head for a large stone.

I express the hope that the American eagle will not be required to drop something upon the head of the Senator from Louisiana before he takes a hint and recognizes his true relation to the Senate and the country.

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Idealism of Lincoln and Wilson

ARTICLE

BY

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

FROM THE ARIZONA DAILY STAR OF FEBRUARY 14, 1926

Monday, July 29, 1935

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 29, 1935)

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the Appendix an article I wrote some years ago, exclusively for the Arizona Daily Star, entitled "The Audacious Idealism of Lincoln and Wilson."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arizona Daily Star of Feb. 14, 1926]

THE AUDACIOUS IDEALISM OF LINCOLN AND WILSON.

(Written exclusively for the Arizona Daily Star by HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST, United States Senator from Arizona)

The early environments and training of Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson were wholly dissimilar, yet in the white blaze of their idealism they were alike. Both were self-contained and deliberate; neither seemed to dread the coarse vituperation which is ever the portion of American Presidents. The main purpose of each was to elevate mankind en masse rather than individually, and in directing their efforts toward that end neither was ever disillusioned nor grew cynical, for their flames of idealism were replenished by faith's conquering audacity. A baffling mysticism, never penetrated by any person, surrounded each of them. Each saw events with a sublime authenticity, each had a tongue like a sword, and each spoke and wrote with amplitude and grandeur. Each referred with reluctance and unfeigned diffidence to that subject upon which nearly all public men are fluent—self. Each believed that just as man has bodily senses to lay hold on matter and supply bodily wants, man also has spiritual faculties to lay hold on God and supply spiritual wants.

Woodrow Wilson was born at Staunton, Va., December 28, 1856. He was a son of Rev. Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Jessie Woodrow Wilson, the former a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church of the South. His boyhood was spent in Augusta, Ga., at Columbia, S. C., and Wilmington, N. C. He prepared for college with private tutors and at the schools of these places. His real educator was his father, a scholar of high order.

In 1873 Woodrow Wilson entered Davidson (N. C.) College and in 1879 was graduated from Princeton University. In 1881 he was graduated from the University of Virginia as a law student; from 1883 to 1885 he did post-graduate work in political economy and history at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; from 1885

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

FOURTH AND FIFTH AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 18, 1936

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, in our Constitution there is probably no feature around which clusters more romance or the memorials of which give us more fascinating glimpses of bygone days than the fourth and fifth amendments. In all our jurisprudence there is no other principle that has been more definitely put into position or more joyously accepted by Americans than the principle of the fourth and fifth amendments. They are intimately related; each lends strength to the other and, notwithstanding their apparent nonchalance, they sustain and protect the very essence of constitutional liberty and security. They guarantee repose and the privacies of life.

These noble amendments are as follows:

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

A gentleman calling upon me once asked, "Did you ever read Lord Coke's famous maxim in Semayne's case?" to wit, "The house of everyone is to him as his castle and fortress, as well for his defense against injury and violence as for his repose." I said, "I am familiar with Coke, but that was law 1,000 years before my Lord Coke adorned the bench."

Before the English conquest of Britain the English people lived in a country now called Schleswig, a district in the heart of the peninsula that separates the Baltic from the northern seas.

The dwellers in this particular locality were an outlying fragment of what was called the Engle or English folk, the bulk of whom probably dwelt in what was later called Lower Hanover and Eastphalia and Westphalia. These Engles in the heart of this peninsula set up their forms of government; they met in the forests, and with their loud and guttural yeas and nays, and sometimes by clashing their spears against their shields as a substitute for a viva voce vote, they adopted their laws.

One of the principles they set into positive law and adopted before Hengist and Horsa, two of their warrior leaders, landed in Britain in A. D. 449 was the provision that "a man's house was his castle" and that therein he was and ought to be secure and free from unreasonable searches and seizures. So we perceive that when the Engles migrated to Britain they took with them those English fundamentals of the liberty of the citizen or subject, and they planted them deep and strong in the island of Britain.

English history may, therefore, with some degree of accuracy be said to have begun with the landing of this war band, led by Hengist and Horsa; at least this event marks the close of Roman influence in the island of Britain and the commencement of that of the Saxons, and from the very inception of Saxon or Angle influence the domicile was secured against searches and seizures.

The years glided into the centuries, and this civil polity guaranteeing personal freedom from the encroachments of tyranny was observed by most English monarchs until King John so outraged and violated the laws of his country that there occurred his quarrel with his barons. This quarrel led to one of the most famous of all conferences in the annals of English liberty, but it was really a diplomatic face saving for King John, a mere cloak to cover John's unconditional submission.

An island in the Thames River between Staines and Windsor was selected as the place of conference. The King camped on one bank whilst the barons occupied a marsh or meadow on the opposite bank called Running Mede or "Runnymede", which at various times theretofore had been a place for national assemblies. Their respective delegates met on this island, and on June 15, 1215, the Great Charter (Magna Carta) was written, adopted, engrossed, and signed.

The Great Charter in and of itself did not establish many new constitutional principles, but did distinctly mark the transition from the epoch of traditional rights, observed in the nation's memory, to the age of muniments of liberty, of written legislation, of parliaments, and statutes which were soon to come. The great reforms of past reigns were thus recognized; for example, the court of common pleas was no longer to follow the King in his meanderings over the realm, but was to sit in a fixed place.

But, say the pundits, Magna Carta says nothing about freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures. Let us examine this statement and see how much thereof is accurate.

The original and individual articles of Magna Carta, as they were prepared and offered seriatim, were written in Latin; but when the entire Carta was adopted and engrossed and was ready for the King's signature, it was written in Norman-French, and we must read it in the light of what its words meant 721 years ago.

I read paragraph 24 of Magna Carta:

No sheriff, constable, coroner, or other our bailiffs shall hold "plea of the Crown."

We must view that language in the light of what it then meant. At that time sheriffs, coroners, constables, bailiffs, and King's minions, in the guise of "holding court", had been in the habit of going to the thatched cottage of the peasant and to the castle of the baron as well, to invade that cottage or castle; and these officers and minions would command that the householder open the strong box, the larder, or the pantry; they would pry open the chest in which he kept his relics, his heirlooms, his private papers, and his title deeds and muniments showing his right to occupy the premises, the penalties which these officers, sheriffs, bailiffs, and King's minions inflicted were degrading and painful and were contrary to law.

By section 24 of Magna Carta sheriffs, constables, coroners, and other bailiffs were not allowed to "hold court."

Some years after the granting of the Great Charter a doubt arose as to the precise meaning of some of its sections although it was pointed out by the lawyers of that day that the guaranties in Magna Carta were sufficient to secure the liberty of freemen; nevertheless, in the reign of Edward I, in 1297, the Confirmatio Chartarum was promulgated.

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Regulation by Congress of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Labor

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 8, 1936

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the purpose of a government pretending any practical excellence is to make the life of its people more useful, easier, more graceful, and more nearly secure.

Americans believe it is the duty and function of our Government to concern itself with protecting the civil and political rights of its citizens, and that to protect the civil and political rights of citizens was the principal and controlling reason why our Government was established.

The fact that the American Government would use all of its resources to resist and repel any hostile invasion is eloquent evidence that our Government concerns itself with the physical safety of the citizen.

It is confusing to attempt to define "economic independence" and "economic security." As a rule those persons who are temerarious enough to try to define these phrases usually render them more indistinct and obscure.

For the purpose of this address, therefore, in order not to be too venturous, the phrases "economic independence" and "economic security" are employed in the sense in which they are generally understood by the majority of our countrymen.

Although trade and commerce and economic pressure had their not insignificant part in establishing the American Government, it cannot be said that the object of the founders of our Government was to guarantee the economic independence or economic security of the individual citizen.

The purpose, plan, and structure of our Government as originally established was that, while the Government protected the citizen's civil liberty, he must earn his own subsistence by the exercise of industriousness, frugality, zeal, prudence, intelligence, and honest business methods.

It was not until about the beginning of the present century, coincident with the enormous expansion of industry, that the Government began to make gestures toward assuring the citizen that he might be free from penury in his old age. During the first 105 or 110 years of our national life the citizen was left to his own resources and to his own devices to smite the obdurate face of nature and carve out a fortune or to earn a subsistence if he could. If he found himself penniless, the State did not concern itself with that fact. If he could not earn a living, his alternatives were to die a pauper or depend upon charity or the bounty of friends or kinsmen.

No plan of government or scheme will ever be discovered whereby mankind will subsist except through his own efforts. No easy way to achieve success has ever been or ever will be discovered. Poverty is not necessarily a badge of incompetence; many capable persons fail. Conversely, now and then some unworthy person without courage or integrity is awarded a prize by the legerdemain of chance or by the impishness of the dice of destiny, but, none the less, success gravitates toward those who are worthy of success. At the beginning of the human drama it was ordained that it shall be difficult to achieve success, even to earn a subsistence.

No one will ever circumvent fate on this particular point, for she has resolved that in obtaining success, or in subsisting himself, man shall be upon his mettle so long as he inhabits this globe.

It is nature's harsh but wise law that the person who receives a subsistence otherwise than through the fruits of his own labor will degenerate, and that the person who expects to "get something for nothing" has already begun to decay.

One of the reasons why the American Government, as established, did not provide for economic independence or for economic security for the individual citizen was that, as has been well said, in a pioneer community such as the country was when the Government began to function, an individual, to survive, must needs personally have knowledge of crops, weather, domestic animals, wild animals, firearms, trees, seasons, industrial plans and poisonous plants, textile making, cottage industry, domestic science, smithing, carpentering, cooperage, storm phenomena, pasturage, treatment of wounds, and so forth. The daily obstacles to be overcome by the pioneer made him not only wise but also made him courageous, clever, self-reliant, bold, and independent.

The citizen of the present day, on the other hand, has no such strengthening and educative influences in his morning and evening trips between his home or his boarding house and the office, or between his home or his boarding house and the field, farm, factory, mill, mine, or shop.

Individual survival in a nation so highly mechanized and industrialized now depends not upon his surmounting the difficulties that beset the pioneer but depends rather upon his agility in dodging automobiles, his ability to understand train schedules and read timetables, observe warning signals, pay attention to labels on delicatessen foods, use the telephone, the telegraph, keep his hands and feet out of machines that may macerate him, and be familiar with dozens of gadgets supposed to bring creature comfort. The wildest hyperbole could not describe the changes in conditions and problems in America that have occurred within the past 150 years.

All these words have brought me to the question as to whether a changing or dynamic economy may be confined within a static or potential system. If we remain indifferent to the changes in the aims, habits, and methods of society—indifferent to the dramatic march of events—do we not run great risks? Whether or not we agree as to the wholesomeness of the changes we may not deny that they have come.

We are now in one of the great climacterics of the world, an era of change in thought and policy in which the question of acquiring and possessing property is being discussed. Enlightened persons perceive that the right to acquire and own property is in itself one of the cornerstones of human freedom.

The right to acquire and possess property, big and little, is just as true a portion of the liberty of an American citizen as is his right to vote, to hold office, or to possess the natural rights and immunities that accompany free men everywhere. The citizen must have not only freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of worship but must also have opportunity to earn his own livelihood and to improve and

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 13, 1937

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, there is in this world a deadly law of compensation which sooner or later does its perfect work.

It was, I believe, in 1932 that our then Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, by cable and on the telephone, communicated with Sir John Simon, then Great Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and our Secretary of State then advised Sir John Simon that he, Mr. Stimson, would cooperate with Great Britain in an attempt to stop Japan from overrunning what was then called Manchuria, now Manchukuo. We had very few and scanty vital interests in Asia at that time. Great Britain had enormous vital interests there at that time and the most lamentable breakdown in statesmanship in history was when Sir John Simon, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, failed to support our Secretary of State at that time. While we deplore the damaging and expensive results that may come to Great Britain from the present trouble in Asia, the law of compensation which does its perfect work is now active against British interests because Great Britain refused to support our Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson. Not a gun would have been fired, no expense larger than the cost of a cablegram to Japan to stop would have been necessary and, if Sir John Simon had sent such cablegram, there would have been peace and tranquillity in Asia.

* * * * * * *

Mr. ASHURST. Not only did Secretary Stimson cable, but he horoscoped the future. He foresaw what was going to happen, and he spent a considerable sum of money in telephone calls trying to talk to Sir John Simon in order to point out to him the necessity of standing to his agreement and observing the nine-power pact, advising the British Foreign Secretary what would be the baleful results of a failure to do so. Our Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, foresaw with crystal clearness just what would happen, but received no support from Great Britain. In fact, Sir John Simon for 2 or 3 days evaded making any reply, and finally declined to cooperate with our Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson.

Thursday, December 16, 1937

Mr. ASHURST. Again I ask the Senate to pardon me for presuming to make a very brief reference to a matter not at all related to the point of order or to the pending bill. My purpose in arising is to direct the attention of the Senate and the country to what appears to be a flagrant, unauthorized misuse of letterheads of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. A certain organization calling itself National Committee to Vindicate Tom Mooney, 1622 Nineteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., has sent, presumably, to many Senators—certainly to one Senator who brought the subject to my notice—a circular letter. The matter underneath the letterheading is respectable and proper, but the circular letter bears the photograph or photostat of the letterhead of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. The evident intent of the use of the letterhead is slyly, cunningly, adroitly, and in an underhanded fashion to make some simpleton believe that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary is in some way connected with this organization. I have no authority to speak for any of the other members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, but I shall presume far enough to say that no member of that committee has authorized the use of stationery of that committee for this or any other like purpose.

As is well known to every informed person, Washington, D. C., for a decade—yes, for more than a decade—has been engorged with oleaginous lobbyists, or if Senators prefer, "parliamentary solicitors", who by devious and cunning methods waylay Senators and Representatives; these lobbyists are not trying to add to the efficiency of our Government, but are trying to take something out of the Government. Notwithstanding that fact, these citizens, to wit, the National Committee to Vindicate Tom Mooney, have the right to organize themselves into lobbies. Citizens have as much right to form an organization to attempt to free Tom Mooney as they have to organize themselves in an attempt to secure a loan from the R. F. C.

Mr. President, I do not inveigh against this Mooney organization as such. In fact, there is now an organization being promoted to petition the proper powers in Great Britain to restore Edward VIII to the throne. Such organization might be offensive to a foreign government, but American citizens possess such rights. There is no law in the United States to prevent a man making a fool of himself if he chooses.

In my public career I have never looked with any degree of support or sympathy upon antilobbying bills. I doubt if I have ever voted for a bill against lobbyists, for this reason. The Senator himself must protect himself against a lobbyist. A Senator or other public man who is so weak that he must have a sentinel to guard him and protect him all the time against lobbyists is not worth the sentinel's pay. So I never have worried about antilobbying bills.

The members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary are as follows: WILLIAM H. KING, M. M. NEELY, PATRICK MCCARRAN, FREDERICK VAN NUYS, M. M. LOGAN, WILLIAM H. DIETERICH, GEORGE MCGILL, CARL A. HATCH, EDWARD R. BURKE, KEY PITTMAN, TOM CONNALLY, JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, JAMES H. HUGHES, WILLIAM E. BORAH, GEORGE W. NORRIS, WARREN R. AUSTIN, FREDERICK STEIWER, and your humble servant as the chairman.

I have not talked with any member of the committee on this Mooney letter, but I am confident that not one of them has directly or indirectly authorized the use of the committee's letterhead in any such manner.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ASHURST. Will the Senator from Wyoming pardon me for just a minute?

There is before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary a resolution, submitted by the able Senator from Montana (Mr. MURRAY), memorializing Hon. Frank Merriam, Governor of California, to grant a full pardon to Thomas Mooney, and so forth. The Senator from Montana had a right to submit such a resolution. These resolutions are not without precedent. Such resolutions have been introduced before, though not on this particular subject. The resolution was by myself, as the chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on June 7 last, referred to a subcommittee composed of Senators O'MAHONEY, chairman, NEELY, HUGHES, MCCARRAN, and STEIWER.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Colorado River

REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, January 5), 1938

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a letter written by myself on December 8, 1936, to Hon. R. Walton Moore, Acting Secretary of State, regarding the waters of the Colorado River, and also some effective replies.

There being no objection, the letter and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C., December 8, 1936.

Referring to: Me 711.1216 M/921.

Hon. R. WALTON MOORE,
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of December 1 received advising that the diplomatic negotiations between the United States and the Republic of Mexico regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Rio Grande have reached an impasse because of Mexico's contention that the consideration of questions pertaining to the lower Rio Grande must be coupled with questions relating to the Colorado River.

You further advise, in the said letter of December 1, that your Department has not hitherto seen its way clear to acquiesce in the Mexican contention.

Whilst your Department did not concede the propriety of the Mexican contention, you have, nevertheless, with undoubted vision, clearly perceived that the distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande is not and cannot be related to the problem of the waters of the Colorado River.

Moreover, you have in your endeavors to protect American rights been quite unimpressed by suggestions of Mexican diplomats that the question of the disposition of waters of the Rio Grande would come to a standstill unless coupled with the question of the disposition of the waters of the Colorado River.

The waters of the Rio Grande and the waters of the Colorado River are not related by propinquity, topography, physical geography, or otherwise, and a remote excursion of the imagination could not supply a shred of excuse for treating the waters of the Rio Grande and the waters of the Colorado River as a single problem or in an entirety.

Such of the waters of the Colorado River as are now permitted to Mexico by the United States are furnished to Mexico, neither by treaty nor by international law but by grace, amity, and neighborliness, although the actual American needs and requirements ultimately should and would consume and utilize all of the entire flow of the Colorado River.

The United States is under no obligation, by treaty, by international law, or otherwise, to recognize in Mexico a right to demand the continuous flow into Mexico of any of the waters of the Colorado River if such waters may be diverted within the United States for beneficial use within the United States. This has been the consistent position of our Government with reference to American rivers flowing into Mexico.

On December 12, 1895, Judson Harmon, Attorney General of the United States, at the request of the Department of State, interpreted Mexican treaties and international law as applied to Mexican claims for Rio Grande water. He held that there was no treaty or provision of international law which prohibited the United States from utilizing the waters of American streams so long as that water was on American soil. (See vol. 21, Ops. Atty. Gen. 274, et seq.)

On September 1, 1903, Hon. M. C. Burch, of the Department of Justice, wrote a report, at the request of the Department of State, regarding the protest of Mexico to the diversion of water from the Colorado River for use in the Yuma Valley, Ariz., and in the Imperial Valley, Calif., holding that there was no inhibition against American citizens using Colorado River water so long as the irrigation works were located entirely within the United States.

On August 20, 1919, the Secretary of State Hon. Robert Lansing, reported to the chairman of the House Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands upon the provisions of H. R. 6044, being a bill to assist in increasing the productive agricultural area of the Imperial Valley, and held that the use of the Colorado River water for this purpose was not a violation of treaty obligations of the United States to Mexico.

Under date of August 17, 1922, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, then Secretary of State, advised Hon. Herbert Hoover, then Chairman of the Colorado River Commission, along lines similar to those laid down in the report of Mr. Lansing. Mr. Hughes' letter is published in House Document 359, Seventy-first Congress, at pages 261, et seq.

The latest declaration of our Government is the report of the American section of the International Water Commission, United States and Mexico, and is found on page 65, and as is follows:

"It has always been held that a nation has a full right within its own territories of those resources which might be necessary for its development or for the comfort of its people. Any granting of a portion of such resources to another nation must be regarded as a voluntary act of friendship and comity."

See also the copious memorandum on American rights in the Colorado River, prepared by Mr. Karl F. Keeler, found at pages 192–262, House Document 359, Seventy-first Congress.

Whatever privileges Mexico may manifest by amity and grace to waters of the Colorado River must be limited to the Colorado River in a state of nature. Mexico has no reservoir or dam sites within her boundary on the Colorado River where she could store any quantity of water and she cannot require the United States to supply such sites. Neither can she claim the benefit of storage works built within the United States through the expenditure of funds of the United States and for the avowed benefit of communities and citizens of the United States.

Before the approval of the so-called Boulder Dam Act, Mexico and the United States together had completely exhausted the available dependable annual flow of the Colorado River, in its state of nature, and Mexico's maximum beneficial use in any one year was 750,000 acre-feet.

It is a principle of law that a person who by his own efforts and expenditure of his own money increases the available water in a stream is entitled to control that increase. Accordingly, Mexico cannot claim the benefits of Boulder Dam or dictate the release of water therefrom.

Protracted and difficult contests in the courts and in Congress furnish ample evidence of the earnestness and the urgency of the American demands for the waters of the Colorado River. The Debler report, only recently compiled by the Reclamation Service, shows a complete utilization by the United States of the waters of the Colorado River. Mr. Debler has already drastically reduced the demands and ultimate requirements of some of the basin States in order to eke out the 750,000 acre-feet annually permitted to Mexico. Seven hundred and fifty thousand acre-feet of water annually is the maximum amount the Colorado River Basin States could by grace or otherwise surrender.

In returning my thanks for your polite attention in writing to me upon this subject, candor requires me to say that the proposal of the Department of State to create a committee of three—one member to be appointed by the Colorado River Basin States, one by the State of Texas, and one by the two thus chosen (subject to the approval of the Department of State) or by the Department of State—to formulate a basis of a treaty with Mexico (unless I have misconceived the question) would be opposed by the Colorado River Basin States for many reasons, among which are the following:

Senators from the Colorado River Basin States would be reluctant to restrict their future freedom of action by agreeing in advance that such committee shall decide how much water might remain in the Colorado River available for use in the seven Colorado River Basin States.

The proposal to create such committee is untenable—

(a) It proceeds upon the erroneous hypothesis that the Rio Grande Basin and the Colorado River Basin have identical problems and have interests of equal value at stake, whereas in fact the Colorado River Basin would be called upon only to give and supply water to Mexico whilst the Rio Grande Basin would be called upon only to receive water from Mexico.

(b) It accords to one State—Texas—equal representation with seven States of the Colorado River Basin.

(c) It assumes that the representatives of the Department of State would be a neutral and disinterested third party, whilst the fact is the Department of State desires to negotiate a treaty for the equitable use of the waters of the Rio Grande and is harassed by intimations by Mexico that such treaty can be negotiated only by the United States surrendering to Mexico waters of the Colorado River in excess of the 750,000 acre-feet per annum.

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Yours respectfully,

HENRY F. ASHURST.

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(Not printed at Government expense)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Colorado River

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, January 5), 1938

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Washington, D. C., December 8, 1936.

Referring to: Me 711.1216 M/921.

Hon. R. WALTON MOORE,
Acting Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter of December 1 received showing that the diplomatic negotiations between the United States and the Republic of Mexico regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Rio Grande have reached an impasse because of Mexico's contention that the consideration of questions pertaining to the lower Rio Grande must be coupled with questions relating to the Colorado River.

You further advise, in the said letter of December 1, that your Department has not hitherto seen its way clear to acquiesce in the Mexican contention.

Whilst your Department did not concede the propriety of the Mexican contention, you have, nevertheless, with unclouded vision, clearly perceived that the distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande is not and cannot be related to the problem of the waters of the Colorado River.

Moreover, you have in your endeavors to protect American rights been quite unimpressed by suggestions of Mexican diplomats that the question of the disposition of waters of the Rio Grande would come to a standstill unless coupled with the question of the disposition of the waters of the Colorado River.

The waters of the Rio Grande and the waters of the Colorado River are not related by propinquity, topography, physical geography, or otherwise, and a remote excursion of the imagination could not supply a shred of excuse for treating the waters of the Rio Grande and the waters of the Colorado River as a single problem or in an entirety.

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On August 20, 1919, the Secretary of State Hon. Robert Lansing, reported to the chairman of the House Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands upon the provisions of H. R. 6061, being a bill to assist in increasing the productive agricultural area of the Imperial Valley, and held that the use of the Colorado River water for this purpose was not a violation of treaty obligations of the United States to Mexico.

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Before the approval of the so-called Boulder Dam Act, Mexico and the United States together had completely exhausted the available dependable annual flow of the Colorado River, in its state of nature, and Mexico's maximum beneficial use in any one year was 750,000 acre-feet.

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The proposal to create such committee is untenable—

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Colorado River

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, January 5), 1938

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Colorado River

REMARKS

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, June 10, 1938

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, superlatives in speech are frequently looked upon as evidence of a weary man or sometimes an indolent man who does not seek a more nearly exact medium of expression. Nevertheless, I choose in these remarks to employ superlatives, because the results achieved by Hon. Homer Cummings, the Attorney General, in his successful and constant warfare upon gangsters are of surpassing importance, and only superlatives would truly delineate and set forth the arduous labors of Attorney General Cummings and his Department, with particular reference to the energies of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of that Department, in coping with professional criminals.

There is no such thing as the "clueless crime." In every crime, no matter what degree of cunning may be employed or how many times the perpetrator may "double on his track," there invariably remains that which, in the nomenclature of detection and investigation, is called the "dropped stitch." The "dropped stitch" is that inescapable, unavoidable impression, sign, or track made by any and all human activities. To find the "dropped stitch" and then ascertain who dropped it is, of course, the duty and task of all who are engaged in the work of detection and investigation. For illustration, a stitch dropped by the accused in the recent kidnaping in Florida was where Sheriff Coleman observed that the accused directed Mr. Cash's attention to the message, saying it had been slipped beneath the door, but the note was crumpled into a ball when found.

The Department of Justice, under the administration and leadership of Attorney General Cummings, has proved that there is no such thing as a "perfect crime." The Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice is equipped, among other apparatus and paraphernalia, with microscopes for examination of bullets and other articles of evidence, an ultraviolet—black light—device for revealing secret writing and identifying stains, chemicals for developing latent fingerprints and analyzing various substances.

The activities of Attorney General Cummings, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation, embrace and comprehend physics; that is to say, that branch of science which deals with biology, chemistry, geology, mechanics, ballistics, electricity, heat, light, and sound. The G-men must be cool, courageous, resourceful, unpurchaseable. They must be trained in psychology—the science of human emotions—and must know what a particular person would be likely to do in given circumstances. The G-man must have a camera eye and a phonographic brain.

Today the laboratory of the Department of Justice in its Federal Bureau of Investigation is housed in rooms especially constructed and equipped to meet the needs of the research experts engaged in the varied phases of criminological study.

So-called perfect crimes are almost daily solved by the test tube, by the microscope, and other intricate instruments of science in the technical laboratories of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice.

When Homer Cummings was inducted into the office of Attorney General, he made a careful investigation of the character and attainments of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover; and I say advisedly that General Cummings exhibited much courage and foresight in retaining Mr. Hoover as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and he gave Mr. Hoover all possible encouragement and assistance in order that the work of thwarting gangsters might be successfully performed. Arguments were made to General Cummings to try to induce him not to retain Mr. Hoover's services, but Mr. Cummings, with a judgment and a foresight almost telepathic, retained Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Cummings' judgment and sagacity have been vindicated.

This Federal Bureau of Investigation is charged with the duty of investigating violations of the laws of the United States, and collecting evidence in cases in which the United States is or may be a party in interest. The organization has a personnel of over 1,600 employees throughout the United States. Under the supervision of the Attorney General, the Director of the Bureau directs the work of the special agents who are employed for the purpose of detecting crime and collecting evidence.

The Attorney General has under his immediate supervision the Identification Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has on file over 5,700,000 sets of fingerprint records of persons who have been arrested in the United States and foreign countries, representing the largest and most nearly complete collection of fingerprint records of current value in existence. In addition, he has under his supervision the Technical Laboratory of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, wherein scientific detection aids are utilized in connection with the solving of crimes under the Bureau's jurisdiction. The experts of this laboratory also assist State and local law-enforcement officials throughout the country in the use of scientific crime-detection aids, such as handwriting and typewriting analysis, the examination of the blood, hair, cloth, soils, and bullets, the use of ultraviolet light in the examination of substances, and the decoding of cryptographic messages.

Not the least in importance of the arduous labors of Attorney General Cummings was his formulation and advocacy of the so-called antigangster or anticrime laws passed during the Seventy-third and Seventy-fourth Congresses. This task of itself was of immense proportion. The more prominent of these recent Federal anticrime laws include those relating to kidnaping, extortion, the interstate transportation of stolen property, the robbery of banks organized or operating under the laws of the United States, interstate flight to avoid prosecution or to avoid testifying in certain cases, the Federal Antiracketeering Act, and the killing or assaulting of Federal officers. One of the most helpful and enlightening of all the conferences ever held in Washington was the Attorney General's "conference on crime," called by Mr. Cummings in 1934, from December 10 to December 13, inclusive. The program of the various sessions of that conference were planned by the Attorney General so as to give cross-sectional views of the problem of crime control in its various aspects. It would have been possible to have held one session on crime prevention, to be attended by teachers, medical authorities, juvenile-court authorities, and churchmen; another session on detection and apprehension to be attended by police and investigators; another on courts and prosecution to be attended by judges, prosecuting attorneys,

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OF ARIZONA

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Friday, June 10, 1938

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, superlatives in speech are frequently looked upon as evidence of a weary man or sometimes an indolent man who does not seek a more nearly exact medium of expression. Nevertheless, I choose in these remarks to employ superlatives, because the results achieved by Hon. Homer Cummings, the Attorney General, in his successful and constant warfare upon gangsters are of surpassing importance, and only superlatives would truly delineate and set forth the arduous labors of Attorney General Cummings and his Department, with particular reference to the energies of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of that Department, in coping with professional criminals.

There is no such thing as the "clueless crime." In every crime, no matter what degree of cunning may be employed or how many times the perpetrator may "double on his track," there invariably remains that which, in the nomenclature of detection and investigation, is called the "dropped stitch." The "dropped stitch" is that inescapable, unavoidable impression, sign, or track made by any and all human activities. To find the "dropped stitch" and then ascertain who dropped it is, of course, the duty and task of all who are engaged in the work of detection and investigation. For illustration, a stitch dropped by the accused in the recent kidnaping in Florida was where Sheriff Coleman observed that the accused directed Mr. Cash's attention to the message, saying it had been slipped beneath the door, but the note was crumpled into a ball when found.

The Department of Justice, under the administration and leadership of Attorney General Cummings, has proved that there is no such thing as a "perfect crime." The Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice is equipped, among other apparatus and paraphernalia, with microscopes for examination of bullets and other articles of evidence, an ultraviolet—black light—device for revealing secret writing and identifying stains, chemicals for developing latent fingerprints and analyzing various substances.

The activities of Attorney General Cummings, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation, embrace and comprehend physics; that is to say, that branch of science which deals with biology, chemistry, geology, mechanics, ballistics, electricity, heat, light, and sound. The G-men must be cool, courageous, resourceful, unpurchaseable. They must be trained in psychology—the science of human emotions—and must know what a particular person would be likely to do in given circumstances. The G-man must have a camera eye and a phonographic brain.

Today the laboratory of the Department of Justice in its Federal Bureau of Investigation is housed in rooms especially constructed and equipped to meet the needs of the research experts engaged in the varied phases of criminological study.

So-called perfect crimes are almost daily solved by the test tube, by the microscope, and other intricate instruments of science in the technical laboratories of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice.

When Homer Cummings was inducted into the office of Attorney General, he made a careful investigation of the character and attainments of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover; and I say advisedly that General Cummings exhibited much courage and foresight in retaining Mr. Hoover as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and he gave Mr. Hoover all possible encouragement and assistance in order that the work of thwarting gangsters might be successfully performed. Arguments were made to General Cummings to try to induce him not to retain Mr. Hoover's services, but Mr. Cummings, with a judgment and a foresight almost telepathic, retained Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Cummings' judgment and sagacity have been vindicated.

This Federal Bureau of Investigation is charged with the duty of investigating violations of the laws of the United States, and collecting evidence in cases in which the United States is or may be a party in interest. The organization has a personnel of over 1,600 employees throughout the United States. Under the supervision of the Attorney General, the Director of the Bureau directs the work of the special agents who are employed for the purpose of detecting crime and collecting evidence.

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Congressional Record

SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY F. ASHURST
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, June 10, 1938

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 7, 1939

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, five different amendments proposed by the Congress may, by the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered on June 5, 1939, in the case of Coleman et al. against Miller et al, be assumed to be pending before the States for their action. These amendments are as follows:

One proposed September 29, 1789, 150 years ago, relating to enumeration and representation:

ARTICLE I. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution there shall be 1 Representative for every 30,000 until the number shall amount to 100, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress that there shall be not less than 100 Representatives, nor less than 1 Representative for every 40,000 persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to 200, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress that there shall not be less than 200 Representatives nor more than 1 Representative for every 50,000 persons.

Another, proposed September 29, 1789, 150 years ago, relating to compensation of Members of Congress:

ART. II. No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall take effect until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Another, proposed January 12, 1810, 129 years ago, to prohibit citizens of the United States from accepting presents, pensions, or titles from princes or from foreign powers:

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honor, or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

Another, proposed March 2, 1861, 78 years ago, known as the Corwin amendment, prohibiting Congress from interfering with slavery within the States:

No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State (12 Stat. 251).

And still another, proposed June 2, 1924, 15 years ago, the child-labor amendment:

SECTION 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

SEC. 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

On September 29, 1789, 12 constitutional amendments were proposed by the First Congress. The requisite number of States ratified proposed articles Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 within 2 years and 3 months, while Nos. 1 and 2, although proposed 150 years ago, have not, according to the latest available returns, received favorable action by the requisite number of States and are still before the American people, or the States, rather, and are now subject to ratification or rejection by the States. After those two proposed amendments, to wit, Nos. 1 and 2, had been in nubilous—in the clouds—for 84 years, the Ohio State Senate in 1873, in response to a tide of indignation that swept over the land in opposition to the so-called back-salary grab, resurrected proposed amendment No. 2 and passed a resolution of ratification through the State senate. No criticism can be visited upon the Ohio Legislature that attempted to ratify the amendment proposed in 1789; and if the amendment had been freshly proposed by Congress at the time of the back-salary grab, instead of having been drawn forth from musty tomes, where it had so long lain stale and dormant, other States doubtless would have ratified it during the period from 1873 to 1881.

During the present year, indeed within the past 90 days, the States of Massachusetts, Georgia, and Connecticut, respectively, have ratified articles 3 to 12, both inclusive, of the 12 articles proposed 150 years ago.

We should not hand down to posterity a conglomerate mass of amendments floating around in a nebulous haze which a State here may resurrect and ratify and a State there may galvanize and ratify.

We ought to have homogeneous, steady, united exertion, and certainly we should have contemporaneous action with reference to proposed amendments. Judgment on the case should be rendered within the lifetime of those interested in bringing about the change in our fundamental law. Final action should be had while the discussions and arguments are within the remembrance of those who are called upon to act.

The amendment proposed on January 12, 1810, was submitted to the States in peculiar auspices.

Unfortunately, the annals of Congress and contemporary newspapers do not give any of the debate upon this interesting proposition. The only light thrown upon the subject by the annals is the remarks of Mr. Macon, who said "he considered the vote on this question as deciding whether or not we were to have members of the Legion of Honor in this country."

What event connected with our diplomatic or political history suggested the need of such an amendment is not now apparent, but it is possible that the presence of Jerome Bonaparte in this country a few years previous and his

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

June 22, 1939

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, at some unrecorded place, on an indefinite day during what we call the stone age "iater," which began somewhere on the stream of time about 10,000 years ago—your guess as to when it began will be as nearly accurate as mine—women commenced the domestication of plants and animals and discovered the processes of baking, brewing, and weaving. On another indefinite day of the later stone age some man, exhausted from dragging with great friction his quarry or other burden along the ground with a sledge, made one of the most brilliant of all inventions—the wheel.

During the same remote and uncertain later stone age some shaggy man picked up a piece of red rock, and from it made a discovery and an invention that ultimately gave to the human race the key—a key of copper—to the kingdom of the arts, industries, communication, transportation, and the material sciences. This piece of red rock seemed to our shaggy man serviceable as a knife or a spear; and this primitive artisan, this embryo scientist, possessing an inquiring turn of mind, in trying to shape the edge of his red rock, found out that this particular rock was a metal that gave way beneath the blows of his stone hammer, and, without breaking, could be bent into any desired form.

If we allow our imagination to make a far-flung excursion, we may well picture with what pride this prehistoric man exhibited his crudely fashioned copper knife or spear among his fellow tribesmen; for the red rock was indeed copper. He was probably regarded as a crank "touched in the head" for attempting to use a metal knife or metal spearhead instead of stone, which had served for generations; but he tremendously influenced the tides of human destiny.

No patent laws of that period gave protection to the discoverers of baking, brewing, and weaving, the domestication of plants and animals, to the inventor of the wheel, or to the discoverer of copper. No chronicle recorded the names of the anonymous benefactors of the human race who made these early discoveries. They are, like our own Unknown Soldier, namelessly immortal, and will probably continue to be nameless.

Copper derived its earliest fame, according to pagan mythology, from the partiality of Venus for this metal—Venus in Greek was Aphrodite—for when Venus rose from the sea somewhere near the island of Cyprus, she asked for a mirror that she might see for herself the reason why all praised her beauty. Only two metals, gold and copper, were supposed to be known at that time out of which a mirror could be made. Venus refused the golden mirror, as it cast a yellow tinge upon the reflection of her countenance, but accepted the copper mirror, as it brightened her titian locks. Thus the word "cyprium," from this island, became the word "cuprum" to the Roman, and copper to the English tongue.

From the dawn of history until the end of the medieval period, copper was the world's most important metal; then iron and steel were the favorites until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when, owing to the application of electricity, copper entered a rejuvenation, and neither imagination nor science is able to foresee a suitable substitute for copper in the electrical field.

Copper is the metal in which the current is born in the generator. Through copper bars and the copper windings of transformers the electricity passes to high-tension transmission lines, which distribute the electrical energy for its ultimate use.

Copper has numerous assets, values, and attributes, and among them are its capacity for conducting heat, its electrical conductivity, its extreme ductility, its malleability, its high tenacity, its tensile strength, its ability to alloy with other metals, its artistic color and its luster, its quality of withstanding corrosion.

When long exposed to air and moisture, it has the wizardry—so far as I know, possessed by no other metal—to create for itself a beautiful protective skin highly esteemed by artists and architects, namely, a greenish or bluish tint called verdigris, Grecian green, "patina," which some municipal authorities unwisely remove, for after copper has given itself this beautiful covering of verdigris, which protects it from oxidation, it will endure for thousands of years in air or in damp soil, and long after iron implements have rotted and are but a heap of dust.

There are metallurgists who deny copper's commonly accepted priority of discovery among metals, and they argue, but with meager evidence, that iron was isolated equally as early as copper and probably anterior to copper. Be this as it may, copper is supreme among the common metals in its everlasting qualities. It is an element native and free. It is permanent and invincible and survives whether in water, earth, or air.

Copper is a good mixer and is the willing, handsome, efficient, ever-dependable servant of electricity. It is so versatile that the ancient alchemists called it the meretricious metal. It enlarges its field of usefulness by alliances with other metals. Tin gives it the hardness of bronze. Zinc

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SPEECHES BY AND EDITORIAL COMMENTS CONCERNING SENATOR ASHURST

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 21 (legislative day of Tuesday, July 18), 1939

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix certain letters written by me, as well as speeches made by me, and also a number of editorials.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the Senate, June 26, 1939

OPPOSING FURTHER PURCHASE OF FOREIGN SILVER

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, it is with regret and unfeigned diffidence that I disagree with the conclusions of my worthy leader, my dear friend the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. Mr. Gladstone in the British Parliament did not more redoubtedly or more ably argue for trade with foreign governments than has the able Senator from Kentucky argued for trade for his own country. I commend him for his temper in the debate. He has conducted the debate with a high degree of ability, but I do not agree with his conclusions.

Mr. President, about the year A. D. 161 it was obvious to the responsible statesmen of the Roman Empire that the Empire would not endure unless carefully guarded, and so the greatest statesman-philosopher the Roman Empire ever produced, Marcus Aurelius, when he assumed his duties as Emperor, took as his watchword "Hold thine own." He knew that the barbarians or the outlanders in the hinterlands and in the far-flung reaches of the Empire were making inroads upon the solidarity of the Empire. Marcus Aurelius did not seek to extend the Empire. His motto was "Hold thine own"; and under that plan of action, with his clear perception of duty to his own government, he was able, through himself and his successors, to keep the Roman Empire as a going concern for another century or two, although the western division of the Empire eventually collapsed about A. D. 476.

I know it is trite for a public speaker to say that the Roman Empire fell, and so forth, and that we must therefore take warning, and so forth; but, trite as it may be, the time has come when all Americans, and particularly those of us who are charged with power and responsibility, must begin to say for and to the United States, "Hold thine own."

At the time of our entrance into the World War, not as a matter of securing trade, not as a matter of bargains or markets, but because of humanitarian impulses, we advanced many billions of dollars to aid foreign countries. These advances have not been repaid.

There are no evidences that they will be repaid at an early date. It is part of the statesmanship, it is a part of the policy of European governments never to pay a debt to another government, especially a cis-Atlantic government. We now say, "Build up markets." As to the billions of dollars that have gone we say, "That was spent because of humanitarian impulses." The billions of dollars failed to stabilize Europe then. Now it is said that in order to have markets we must buy foreign silver.

Mr. President, if this were an original instance, if this were a matter initially presented today, and we were without experience, I might vote for it, because I am willing to experiment with almost anything, and I have done so; but, Mr. President, we have experimented on this subject and the experiment has failed. This administration should cling fast to experiments which have proved to be successful and wholesome, and should discard and abandon those experiments and projects that have proved to be failures. Every dollar of foreign trade we secure from the purchase of foreign silver costs us 80; and, as poor trader as I am, I do not favor a 9-to-1 trade.

Mr. President, I do not speak out of dislike of any foreign government or foreign people. Mankind is afflicted, in this particular and tragic period in the stream of time, with grievous troubles. If mankind shall surmount these troubles, it will be a credit to the dignity of the human race. I think mankind will do so, but will do so only by being realistic and facing facts.

Mr. President, consider Mexico. She is the neighbor of the State I have so long, with my colleague, tried to represent. Mexico responds to our overtures of friendship by repeated seizures of the property of American nationals. When we extend the hand of friendship and purchase her silver, her reply is the seizure and confiscation of more American properties and the violation of more American rights. I do not say that we should go to war with any country because it seizes American property, because if an American national makes investments in foreign countries he does so somewhat at his own risk; but I do say that the time has arrived when we must be sufficiently realistic to know that the United States of America has but two friends on earth—Finland and Ireland.

Mr. MCCARRAN. Mr. President-

Mr. ASHURST. I will yield in a moment. My able friend here on my left, the studious Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] who voice says our two friends are the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. I accept the amendment. I add them to my two. We have four friends.

I now yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. MCCARRAN. Mr. President, I desire to express the gratitude of the great Irish race with respect to the expressions made on the floor of the Senate by the able Senator from Arizona, because the heart of Ireland always throbs in friendship with all nations that treat Ireland as a friend.

Mr. ASHURST. I am not of Irish descent. I wish I were. I am of English and French descent, and if there be any persons on earth I well know, it is an Englishman and a Frenchman.

If we are improvident enough to lend money to foreign governments without security, they in turn are astute enough to decline to repay us. I have no ill will toward foreign nationals. I appreciate the land that gave us our common law and that gave us the language of Shakespeare and Milton. If she had never given naught else to us than this language of such amplitude and grandeur and this great system of law, that would have been quite sufficient.

I am no enemy of the Italian people. They have given the world a heritage of music and poems in stone.

Little Belgium during the war walked the Via Dolorosa that led to duty, death, and glory, and gave to the world an exhibition of bravery beyond the range of eulogy.

All persons have from time to time loved France.

From Holland we received the decimal system of money. Many nations have made contributions toward progress.

But the fact that foreign countries have made contributions that have been accepted by the American people is no reason for believing that we can continue to support those countries. The

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Mr. ASHURST. I am not of Irish descent. I wish I were. I am of English and French descent, and if there be any persons on earth I will know, it is an Englishman and a Frenchman.

If we are improvident enough to lend money to foreign governments without security, they in turn are astute enough to decline to repay us. I have no ill will toward foreign nationals. I appreciate the land that gave us our common law and that gave us the language of Shakespeare and Milton. If she had never given aught else to us than this language of such amplitude and grandeur and this great system of law, that would have been quite sufficient.

I am no enemy of the Italian people. They have given the world a heritage of music and poems in stone.

Little Belgium during the war walked the Via Dolorosa that led to duty, death, and glory, and gave to the world an exhibition of bravery beyond the range of eulogy.

All persons have from time to time loved France.

From Holland we received the decimal system of money. Many nations have made contributions toward progress.

But the fact that foreign countries have made contributions that have been accepted by the American people is no reason for believing that we can continue to support those countries. The

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Congressional Record

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OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1940

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"Mr. President, the United States is great not simply and solely because of her vast area, but because she never seeks revenge—she simply demands justice. Our Government came into life not only as the fulfillment of the bright dream of liberty-loving persons, but as the fulfillment of a task as well. Our free States are not mere abstract longings for justice and peace, for when the States were formed these abstractions and longing were galvanized into life and translated into communities seeking concrete justice and liberty.

"Civil liberty on this continent was a worthy but denied and baffled sentiment until it became articulate in our Declaration of Independence. The Declaration itself would have been nothing more than an eloquent and accurate recital of the philosophy of liberty except that its principles were vivified and enforced by the American patriots. Liberty cannot survive if it does no more than parade around in nightgown and slippers looking for comfort, safety, luxury, and ease. When democracy is attacked it must repel force with force. Democracy will not survive if in times of danger it does no more than preach the doctrine of philosophical nonresistance, simper sentimental regret over a deadly wound it receives, and with lustrous, soft-expressioned eyes view with pensive melancholy decision action aimed for its destruction.

"If we are to keep our Nation powerful for good in the affairs of men and continue to work out the altruistic problems to which our country was dedicated, we must present to other nations an unweakened fiber, a courage both moral and physical, a mind free from trash and slush, flexed muscles and thews that have not been debilitated or degenerated by sensuality, security, and luxury.

"Our governmental system is and was intended to be one which shall be nourished by the individual instead of one which shall nourish the individual. The individual should give strength and sustenance to the State, not receive strength and sustenance from the State. It is easy and pleasing to indulge in smug complacency and self-deception and thus evade the unwelcome thought of national defeat or degradation, but it is neither wise, judicious, nor statesmanlike to do so. It is wiser and safer to be on guard and preclude all possibility of danger than to hide our fears of danger in the secret recesses of our closets.

"We are living in a day of wonders. Gigantic events are coming so rapidly that they tread upon each other's heels, and among the lessons being taught is the fact that men may be heroes, but unless they are drilled their heroism will end only in unavailing martyrdom. Our mountains are filled with copper and iron ore, but these cannot instantly be converted into battle craft. Preparation and vigilance only can work the necessary changes. Men do not ascend to eminence, strength, and power by a single leap or by growing overnight. It is only by steady tread that a man moves up the rough and rugged path to success. Those who reach eminence and distinction are they who subject their lives to the fires of intellectual and physical endeavor. Success and efficiency, in war and in peace, come only after many years of anxious striving and long-sustained effort. He who expects something for nothing has already begun to decay. There is nothing worth possessing that we get without effort. To compensate the world for what we use is the profound law of all life. Liberty, security, peace, health, and happiness must be paid for. We must face problems as they are presented, not as we should like to have them presented.

"So it is with a nation. It holds its place and preserves its liberty only by never becoming careless and by never despising nor underrating nor running from an opponent. Ever since the days of the children of Noah men have sought to build them a tower which they might ascend in a day of trouble and thus escape the hardships and the clash and din of this world. But such cannot be; under Nature's harsh yet profound laws we must meet and overcome dangers and perform duties; we cannot build a tower lofty enough to take us above and beyond the trials and duties of this life.

"In the annals of every nation it has frequently been necessary to protect innocence and peace by rigorous action. Persons who think with any degree of accuracy are bound to know that this is not a world of automatic righteousness and self-acting justice. Innocence alone is not sufficient to protect the innocent.

"No man making a pretense toward statesmanship would for a moment assert that it would be moral or righteous for us inertly and supinely to sit by and twiddle melting notes on a harp of peace, the while our progress, spiritual and material, our liberties—the most cherished deposits confided to human hands—the blessings of our industry, the fruits of our toil and self-denial, were being subverted or annihilated. It is honorable and righteous to oppose with force those who forcibly attempt to subvert and destroy any of the attributes which adorn and elevate humanity.

"A government designed to make life pleasant for its people is frequently obliged to take some immediate measures to insure the survival of its people. Sometimes in a nation's history it is required to be fearless as well as careful.

"Surely no one could quarrel with those luminous souls who advocate peace at any price. I respect them, but I am not of them. In their hearts repose sentiments of love for all mankind. They believe that Mars is dead instead of red. They think they perceive this earth to be a beautiful temple within which are walled peace, contentment, and plenty; a temple domed with rosy hues; a temple within which turmoil, strife, and struggle are blackballed, and from which all crime, vice, cupidity, hate, envy, rage, and revenge are banished till time itself shall be no more. They see, however, a vision of heaven, not of earth. Evil things constantly assail man on this mundane sphere. Envy, deceit, fraud, force, foaming revenge, livid fires of malice and hate, bigotry, cupidity, greed, lust for world power, and kindred evil passions inveterately attack the human heart and must be combated, not surrendered to. The liberties of our citizens—yes, our very security in the future—will be preserved by public servants who have their eyes to the sea, not by those who have their ears to the ground.

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"What shall it profit a nation if, by keeping an unpunctured skin, it rots its heart? What shall it profit a nation to keep a full pocket and lose its soul? America must not only rear temples, build cities, conquer deserts, enchain the bolts of Olympian Jove, hew down mountains, and harness waters that pour destructive floods; she must also heal sore wounds, crush bigotry and race hatred, struggle for liberty, endow the youth of the land with standards of courageous patriotism, and constantly pour fourth her long-enduring strength for the vindication of American rights and the preservation of human justice on these shores."

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

SPEECHES AND LETTERS

BY

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

AND

OTHER DATA

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 3, 1940)

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD several letters written by me, certain speeches I have delivered, and bills introduced by me which became laws.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the Senate Monday, April 8, 1940

TOWNSEND PLAN

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. DOWNEY. I yield.

Mr. ASHURST. The able Senator said he would be delighted to speak a week. I am one of many Senators who would not be wearied if he did speak a week.

If the Senator will pardon me for a reference—it is hardly a question—I want to interject something into his speech.

OLD-AGE PENSION PLAN

A very able citizen, not residing in my State, wrote to me, "I understand you are going to support the Townsend old-age pension plan as it is to be introduced by Senator DOWNEY. I would like to know what you mean. Can you explain it?" The explanation I made to that citizen was to send him the bill, with the statement, "The bill itself is the strongest argument I can make for the bill." He was fair enough to reply, "Having read the bill, I am for it."

In this life we are beset by many perplexing things and frequently we are in doubt as to which way to turn. One of the rules of moral philosophy is that, in the effort to discover what is right and what is wrong, we should search for simplicity. Truth is generally to be identified by its extreme simplicity. A complicated matter, crisscrossed by many lines, difficult of discernment and of analysis, may be suspected. The very simplicity of the Senator's new Townsend bill indicates its truth and its strength.

If I am correct in my analysis of the bill, it does not cancel or stop any issue, rent, profit, or income any person receives. A person may be eligible for this pension at 60 years of age, provided he or she does not receive or earn any salary or wages. Am I correct in that?

Mr. DOWNEY. That is correct.

Mr. ASHURST. A boy 12 years of age could compute on the back of a postal card just how much each citizen owed and should pay the Government under the new Townsend old-age pension plan. Am I correct about that?

Mr. DOWNEY. That is correct.

Mr. ASHURST. Note the simplicity. Experts are sent from the Bureau of Internal Revenue each year so that we may forsooth have help in making out our income-tax returns. Under existing law the most well-intentioned man must have the aid of an expert in making out his return. That is what annoys and perplexes the citizen. The American citizen is glad to pay something to his Government, but he objects to the annoyance of being constantly beset by a number of perplexing questions he must answer, with the fear that he may be entrapped, notwithstanding he is trying to be fair.

I wish to commend to the Senate and to the country this new Townsend bill which the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY] has proposed. Senators will be amazed at its simplicity. I repeat, a 12-year-old boy with his pencil could compute on the back of a postal card how much any citizen owed the Government under the Townsend pay-as-you-go plan.

Moreover, in this bill Dr. Townsend has hit upon a truth which may ultimately prove to be the solution of this country's financial troubles. We may come to it, and I think we should. The suggestion is, no appropriation without a tax side by side with it to pay the appropriation.

Some wise man some day will drive through Congress a measure, or the American people will adopt a constitutional amendment, providing that there shall be no appropriation without a tax to accompany it. That will prove to be something which will aid the Government in meeting its bills in the future. It might prevent extreme inflation. Senators would find a pleasure in knowing that when they made an appropriation there would be a tax accompanying it. Am I correct in saying the new bill so provides?

Mr. DOWNEY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. ASHURST. I have studied the new Townsend old-age pension plan to be proposed by the Senator from California, for more than 2 months. I have given it the best thought of which I have been capable, and I hope the House will send it to us; I suppose the House will have to originate it. I happened to know the Senator from California when he was a very young boy, and I inflicted a torrent of words on an occasion when he was present more than 35 years ago in a county courthouse in the West. I know that he is a very able lawyer, and his career at the bar demonstrates that he has practiced law with much success.

Let us assume a Senator whose salary is $10,000 a year; he and all other citizens would be entitled to deduct $3,000 as their exemption, which would leave $7,000 taxable at 2 percent, and his tax would be $140 a year.

There is not a Senator, not a Member of the House, in my judgment, who would not be delighted to make that contribution. The precedent set would be wholesome.

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. Mr. President, I may add further, if the Senator will yield, to say that this conception of a gross income tax is not new. The State of the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. MINTON] has a gross-income tax now and has had for some time.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOWNEY. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I might add that the State of Minnesota for more than 40 years has taxed its railroads on the basis of gross earnings, and many of our State taxes are earmarked for certain purposes.

Mr. DOWNEY. I cannot conclude my remarks, Mr. President, without discussing somewhat the experience I had with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], to which he adverted awhile ago, and I must say that it is partly the example of the distinguished Senator from Arizona that makes me want to talk another week upon this subject, though I feel compelled to restrict myself to an additional 15 minutes.

Like the Senator, I come from the great and boundless West. In my younger days I spent some time around a lonely mining camp near Winnemucca, which is out on the desert of Nevada, where the great boast of the prospectors and the people generally is that one of the great statesmen and speakers and philosophers of America was born there, to wit, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST].

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

SPEECHES AND LETTERS

BY

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

AND

OTHER DATA

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 3, 1940)

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD several letters written by me, certain speeches I have delivered, and bills introduced by me which became laws.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In the Senate Monday, April 8, 1940

TOWNSEND PLAN

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. DOWNEY. I yield.

Mr. ASHURST. The able Senator said he would be delighted to speak a week. I am one of many Senators who would not be wearied if he did speak a week.

If the Senator will pardon me for a reference—it is hardly a question—I want to interject something into his speech.

OLD-AGE PENSION PLAN

A very able citizen, not residing in my State, wrote to me, "I understand you are going to support the Townsend old-age pension plan as it is to be introduced by Senator DOWNEY. I would like to know what you mean. Can you explain it?" The explanation I made to that citizen was to send him the bill, with the statement, "The bill itself is the strongest argument I can make for the bill." He was fair enough to reply, "Having read the bill, I am for it."

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENTS—WAR MINERALS—MANGANESE

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

August 15, 1940

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, referring to the subject of voluntary enlistments, no one should be surprised that there might apparently be some backwardness or delay in voluntary enlistments; but such delay, if any, has been occasioned not a little by the War Department, which has flagrantly disregarded the law of June 4, 1920, which permitted 1-year enlistments and gave to the soldier the right to choose what the period of his enlistment would be, whether 1 year or 3. The evidence is not conclusive, but is strong, to the effect that the War Department has been lacking in frankness, has been disingenuous and unfair, in that in establishing recruiting stations the recruiting officers have notified the applicants seeking to enlist that they could not enlist for 1 year. That circumstance, Mr. President, does not afford us much faith or confidence in a department which now asks for power to deal with larger and graver matters when in the smaller matters it has been remiss, and, in my judgment, unfair to the man seeking to enlist for 1 year.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOWNEY. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Senator from Arizona might add, however, that, in spite of this prejudice and in spite of this handicap, every quota the Army has sought has been filled.

Mr. ASHURST. I am glad to have that contribution.

MANGANESE

Now, Mr. President, a few words upon another subject.

On the 7th of November 1929 I vexed the ears of the Senate for nearly 3 hours in a debate wherein I argued that adequate supplies of high-grade manganese ores could be found within the United States, and in that speech I descended into particulars. I named the States in which manganese ores are found. I named the counties, the mining districts where manganese ores were located, and I descended further into particulars, and in some instances supplied the names of the mines in the United States whence high-grade manganese ores could be obtained.

Manganese is absolutely necessary in the manufacture of steel. It is used to "sweeten" pig iron. For years a determined effort was made to prevent the imposition of a protective tariff on imported manganese. I wish not to talk now about the tariff question; but it is true that the users of manganese, the large steel companies, in bygone years employed their power—I do not charge corruption—to prevent the imposition of a tariff on manganese. That is human nature. That is probably enlightened selfishness, for they would, forsooth, prefer to buy manganese in foreign countries because they believe they might secure it cheaper than at home. It has been said that the steel interests are now indifferent as to a tariff; but my opinion is that if they are not urging free trade on manganese they occupy the position of Addison's valetudinarian, who, whilst complaining that he was starving to death, grew so fat that he was shamed into silence.

Mr. ASHURST. The following is an extract from questions which were asked by radio commentators and answered by members of the National Defense Advisory Commission in a broadcast over the four radio networks from Washington, August 8, 1940, giving remarks of Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., in charge of the Raw Materials Division of the National Defense Commission:

Question. Of course, you must encounter numerous difficulties, Mr. Stettinius. Could you give us an example?

Answer. Yes. A very practical difficulty, for instance, involves one of our sources of high-grade manganese—an indispensable alloy for the manufacture of steel. It is in Brazil. Transportation to that source is inadequate, and to get the supplies we need a railroad in Brazil will have to be rebuilt. That is typical of the kind of problems we face.

The United States Steel Corporation owns manganese mines in Brazil.

According to United States Bureau of Mines release of August 10, 1940, manganese ore imported from Brazil during the month of June ran 40.9 percent metallic manganese. According to Government specifications, ore running below 48 percent metallic manganese is classified as low grade.

If approved by Congress, it is expected that a portion of the $500,000,000 Export-Import Bank fund will be used in the construction of manganese plants and railroads in Brazil or other South American countries. Such plants can be constructed in the United States just as quickly as in Brazil and offer far more security to our own country.

It would seem certain Congress should not be content to see American money spent for the development of manganese in Brazil while domestic manganese mines with enormous quantities of manganese-ore content higher than the ore content of the Brazil mines remain idle, with American miners searching for employment.

The argument, to my mind, is conclusive that if manganese be, as it is, a metal necessary in the manufacture of ordnance and other munitions, for a stronger reason, a fortiori, we ought to develop the home mines. Senators will remember that in the dark days of March and April 1918 our miners and

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REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

August 22, 1940

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, in this life we should be under no illusions. I believe that the draft in time of war is justifiable, but it must be remembered that now we are asked to change the policy of the United States. We are asked now to regiment America. We are asked now to set up a system like that of continental Europe.

The business of Europe is war. Two hundred and sixty great battles have taken place on the battlefield of Waterloo. I shall not and could not name them all. As I say, the business of Europe is war. If we vote for a draft in peacetime, we shall never live long enough to rid ourselves of that system. It will be permanently upon us. We shall not be able to rid ourselves of it. Its very centripetal force, its very momentum, will keep you regimented all the remainder of your careers, and the careers of your sons.

We are asked now by this draft bill to contemplate one of the most serious questions ever presented to a free people. America is the most opulent, most powerful, of all the nations of the earth. The piled-up wealth of the United States transcends and is greater than the piled-up wealth of all other nations combined, while the potential wealth of the United States is as great as the wealth of any six nations. Yet we are asked to be afraid.

Mr. President, if this proposal were for a day, if it were for a year, if it were for a decade, you might be reconciled to a draft in peacetime; but, Mr. President, be under no illusions. When once we put this continental European system upon our people we shall have done it forever, not for a day. That is the reason there is so much solemnity in this hour. That is why men on either side of this question are earnestly seeking the truth.

I am proud rather than scornful of the heated debates in the Senate. If there is ever to be a heated debate in the Senate of the United States, the only free forum in the world, surely this is an appropriate occasion.

I am not assuming the role of a prophet, but mark me, when we shall have left these seats forever, and when the record of our times is gathered into history's golden urn, if indeed history deigns to notice any of us, this is the day when we touch at Saguntum, this is the day when by draft in time of peace we sowed dragon's teeth, from which we will reap a terrible harvest through all days that are to come. Do not delude yourselves into the belief that you may shackle yourselves, handcuff yourselfs, and gag yourselves under a military despotism and then easily throw off the shackles. It will not easily be done. I repeat, when you put a draft upon the people in time of peace, you have touched at Saguntum, you have sown dragon's teeth.

Mr. President, I receive dispatches from some of my constituents saying, "Unless you vote for the draft you are defeated." If I could defeat this draft measure by my own defeat, the country would be immensely benefited.

The man who would oppose or support such a measure by thinking only a coward's thought of praise or blame in political campaigns regarding his vote on this question is not fit to be a Senator. If he could look upon a question such as this with the contemplation of how many votes he would get here or there, he is not fit to be a Senator.

My vote against the draft may or may not defeat me; but I am accustomed to disappointments. I bear them with equinimity. Let me tell my colleagues something about defeats. Each of you will meet defeat in due time. In the first half hour of defeat you think the earth has slipped from beneath your feet, and that the stars above your head have paled and faded. Such is the sensation for the first half hour. Then, with the flight of a few hours, there comes such a peace as would be the envy of the world's greatest philosopher.

I received this morning what I will not say was a savage but a heated dispatch from an organization in my State composed of very excellent and worthy persons, in which they excoriated me because I am opposed to the draft in peacetime. They are within their rights in thus criticizing me. Mr. President, if you were to come to this planet a stranger from another planet and should seek to know what governments were free, you would not look to the army, you would not look to the navy, you would not look to the treasury; you would look to the parliament, and if the parliamentarians spoke freely and the people at home criticized their parliamentarians freely, you would know that such was a free country. Free criticism of lawmakers is an infallible index of a free people.

I telegraphed these young men that I was glad to receive their criticism. People have flattered me so much in my career that a telegram of criticism is welcome and timely. So far from feeling any irritation about criticisms that come to me over this vote, I welcome them. They are the signs of a free, intelligent people.

You will not be free to criticize your Government, you will not be free to criticize your parliamentarians or your lawmakers when once a military caste is imposed upon you. Be under no delusions, the man who deceives other people is dishonest, but the man who deceives himself is a fool. The man who believes that we are going to put this measure—conscription in peacetime—into force and then easily relieve ourselves of it later will be deceived. These excrescences, these growths, these baleful devices which we adopt from continental Europe, which has been fighting for 2,000 years, will not disappear easily. If you think you can speedily remove them, you are deceiving yourselves.

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 11 and 12, 1940

September 11, 1940

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield to me?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. ASHURST. I have just sent—not at public expense, but charged to my personal account—the following telegram:

Judge ERNEST W. MCFARLAND,
Phoenix, Ariz.:

Heartiest congratulations upon your victory. You will make splendid Senator, and when Congress adjourns I shall come home to campaign joyously for you and the entire State ticket. I wish for you health, happiness, and political success.

SENATOR ASHURST.

About 7 o'clock this morning the telephone rang, and when I answered, a venerable lady who lived in Arizona more than 56 years ago spoke and said "Senator, I am distressed to see in the newspaper that you are defeated. What are you going to do for a living now?" [Laughter.] I said, "I may rest a year, and then practice law." She said, "Oh, are you a lawyer?" [Laughter.]

Coming to the Capitol in a taxicab, the young man who was driving said, "Senator, what are you going to do for a living now?" I said, "I think I shall sell apples." [Laughter.] He said, "What do you mean by that?" I replied, "Well, for almost 30 years I have successfully distributed applesauce in the Capitol. I ought now to be able to sell a few apples." [Laughter.]

I am sure some of my colleagues expect me to describe the sensation of defeat. The first half hour you believe that the earth has slipped from beneath your feet, that the stars above your head have paled and faded, and you wonder what the Senate will do without you, and you wonder how the country will get along without you. But within another half hour there comes a peace and a joy that would be envied by the world's greatest philosopher.

So much by way of camaraderie; and now, no longer speaking jocosely, I do not intend to trespass upon the time of the Senator from Wisconsin, or to take the time of the Senate or of the country to describe the means and the manner by which a child of the desert ascended the steep but glamorous acclivity to the Alps of fame. I am sure that my descent of the declivity will be as graceful and pleasant as was the ascent of the acclivity.

I say here in this presence that my ascent in politics and success in life were due to two great women. One was my mother, and the other my wife. Without their help and support I probably would have been nothing more than a cipher, with the rim removed.

How far my opposition to the peacetime draft influenced the electorate in my State I do not know; and, without being flippant, or defiant, I do not care. No man is fit to be a Senator and no man should presume to serve here unless he is willing at any time to surrender his political life for a great principle, for a vital thing in American liberty and stability.

We frequently hear the Senate criticized. Quite recently it was deplored that there had been a heated debate on the floor of the Senate. Mr. President, I welcome the heat of debate between Senators. It is a sign of freedom. There is no life in the still and dead waters. It was a singular and happy circumstance that about the same time the so-called heated debate occurred on the floor of our Senate a still more torrid debate was taking place in the British House of Commons, in which the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, took part. Rolands were given for Olivers; there was thrust and there was riposte. Those are signs of a free people. Senators need not be disturbed by heated debates in the Senate or House. They are signs, signal smokes, evidences of a free parliament and a free people.

Moreover, Senators, you should not be disturbed by criticism of Congress. When the press or citizens generally criticize Congress, it is the sign of a free people. As I said once before, if one were a stranger to this planet, but understood somewhat human affairs, and he had made an excursion here to discover quickly and accurately what governments were free and what were despotic and autocratic, he would not look to the Treasury to ascertain what governments were free; he would not even look to the army or the navy. He would look to the parliament, the lawmaking body. If its members spoke freely, and said what they believed, and if the citizens who elected the parliament were free at all times to criticize the parliament or the congress, these would be the signs, the symbols, and the proofs of a free people.

We hear it said that the Senate is not so great now as it was in bygone days. Mr. President, after many years in the Senate I am prepared to testify that today the Senate is as great as it was in what we think of as the majestic past. Webster, whose voice boomed like a golden bell hung in the canopy of the skies, could not be elected by any constituency today. I doubt very much if Henry Clay could be elected by any constituency today. Not even the great logician John C.

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Judge ERNEST W. MCFARLAND,
Phoenix, Ariz.:

Heartiest congratulations upon your victory. You will make splendid Senator, and when Congress adjourns I shall come home to campaign joyously for you and the entire State ticket. I wish for you health, happiness, and political success.

SENATOR ASHURST.

About 7 o'clock this morning the telephone rang, and when I answered, a venerable lady who lived in Arizona more than 56 years ago spoke and said "Senator, I am distressed to see in the newspaper that you are defeated. What are you going to do for a living now?" [Laughter.] I said, "I may rest a year, and then practice law." She said, "Oh, are you a lawyer?" [Laughter.]

Coming to the Capitol in a taxicab, the young man who was driving said, "Senator, what are you going to do for a living now?" I said, "I think I shall sell apples." [Laughter.] He said, "What do you mean by that?" I replied, "Well, for almost 30 years I have successfully distributed applesauce in the Capitol. I ought now to be able to sell a few apples." [Laughter.]

I am sure some of my colleagues expect me to describe the sensation of defeat. The first half hour you believe that the earth has slipped from beneath your feet, that the stars above your head have paled and faded, and you wonder what the Senate will do without you, and you wonder how the country will get along without you. But within another half hour there comes a peace and a joy that would be envied by the world's greatest philosopher.

So much by way of camaraderie; and now, no longer speaking jocosely, I do not intend to trespass upon the time of the Senator from Wisconsin, or to take the time of the Senate or of the country to describe the means and the manner by which a child of the desert ascended the steep but glamorous acclivity to the Alps of fame. I am sure that my descent of the declivity will be as graceful and pleasant as was the ascent of the acclivity.

I say here in this presence that my ascent in politics and success in life were due to two great women. One was my mother, and the other my wife. Without their help and support I probably would have been nothing more than a cipher, with the rim removed.

How far my opposition to the peacetime draft influenced the electorate in my State I do not know; and, without being flippant, or defiant, I do not care. No man is fit to be a Senator and no man should presume to serve here unless he is willing at any time to surrender his political life for a great principle, for a vital thing in American liberty and stability.

We frequently hear the Senate criticized. Quite recently it was deplored that there had been a heated debate on the floor of the Senate. Mr. President, I welcome the heat of debate between Senators. It is a sign of freedom. There is no life in the still and dead waters. It was a singular and happy circumstance that about the same time the so-called heated debate occurred on the floor of our Senate a still more torrid debate was taking place in the British House of Commons, in which the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, took part. Rolands were given for Olivers; there was thrust and there was riposte. Those are signs of a free people. Senators need not be disturbed by heated debates in the Senate or House. They are signs, signal smokes, evidences of a free parliament and a free people.

Moreover, Senators, you should not be disturbed by criticism of Congress. When the press or citizens generally criticize Congress, it is the sign of a free people. As I said once before, if one were a stranger to this planet, but understood somewhat human affairs, and he had made an excursion here to discover quickly and accurately what governments were free and what were despotic and autocratic, he would not look to the Treasury to ascertain what governments were free; he would not even look to the army or the navy. He would look to the parliament, the lawmaking body. If its members spoke freely, and said what they believed, and if the citizens who elected the parliament were free at all times to criticize the parliament or the congress, these would be the signs, the symbols, and the proofs of a free people.

We hear it said that the Senate is not so great now as it was in bygone days. Mr. President, after many years in the Senate I am prepared to testify that today the Senate is as great as it was in what we think of as the majestic past. Webster, whose voice boomed like a golden bell hung in the canopy of the skies, could not be elected by any constituency today. I doubt very much if Henry Clay could be elected by any constituency today. Not even the great logician John C.

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(Not printed at Government expense)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE

REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY F. ASHURST

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

September 11 and 12, 1940

September 11, 1940

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#59

PERSONALITIES IN YOUR GOVERNMENT
10:45 - 11 P.M.
Fri. July 27, 1951

Featuring Clarence J. Brown
of
Blanchester, Ohio

X-E748
#60 .F7

Joseph Irwin France

Ex-Senator of Maryland files his papers as a Candidate for the Republican Nomination for the Presidency, at Annapolis, Maryland, Wednesday, April 8.

Statement Announcing His Candidacy

My dear Mr. Editor:

The questions discussed in this announcement are of vital concern to every American.

I would appreciate your editorial discussion of these principles and policies whether you agree with me or not.

If you would send me a copy of your editorial comment it would be deeply appreciated.

I earnestly hope to have your cooperation in promoting a discussion of these principles even if you are opposed to my views.

Your personal views or suggestions concerning the problems confronting us would be gratefully received.

JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE.

X-E748
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The High Cost of Living

#61

From the Viewpoint
of a Farmer

Address of

SENATOR JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE

At the Meeting of the Cecil Farmers' Club,
held at Woodlawn, Cecil County, Md., July 30th, 1913

X-E748
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#162

Senator Joseph Irwin France

CHAMPION
OF
WORLD MISSIONS

X-E748
.F7

#63

STATEMENT
of

Senator Joseph Irwin France

On His Attitude Toward the Question of National Prohibition

X-E 478
#64 .F7

THE TRUTH ABOUT SENATOR FRANCE

PRIMARY ELECTION, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

By Authority of Oliver S. Metzerott, Treasurer

33

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#65

A PEN PICTURE

of

Senator Joseph Irwin France

by

Miss Edna Annette Beveridge
OF MARYLAND

X-E 748
F7

Extracts From Remarks Of Former Senator Joseph Irwin France At St. Mary's Tournament, Pylesville, Harford County, Maryland, August 19, 1931

#166

In the decades before the war it seemed, at times, that mankind was about to enter a new golden era of cooperation and progress, peace, and plenty. But prosperity brought a forgetting that man may not live by bread alone, that the soul of the race may not be nourished by mere coarse husks of material benefits. Men became self sufficient.

Then came a sudden revival of that age old heresy of the efficacy of coercion by force, an abandonment of reason, persuasion, cooperation; and the resulting world devastating war.

Since the dawn of history there has been a continued conflict between the law of Cain and the law of God. Should men employ force or reason; coercion or conversion by persuasion; hatred expressed in compulsion or love expressed in compassion?

Imperialism, militarism, and dictatorship in government are the embodiment of the ideal of coercion; force. Americanism, antimilitarism, and the Sovereign mastership of the people over all government are the embodiment of the ideal of conversion; reason.

When we entered the world war there was danger that our cooperation with empires in an imperial conflict might expose to peril the American ideal, with its doctrine that life, liberty, self sovereignty having been bestowed upon man by God may not be denied by government, Americanism is irreconcilable with imperialism. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Americanism with its doctrine of persuasion and reason must lead in the solution of the critical problems of the world.

There can be no doubt that the American system was gravely injured and partly abandoned by our government and by our people during the war.

During that period we unwisely aped the empires. We established dictatorship. We were told it was patriotic to implicitly obey. Those to whom the dictatorship of Bolshevism is really repugnant, should remember that we had this here while we were at war; Bolshevists suppressed free speech; so did we. They took over the railroads and coal mines; so did we. They censored the press; so did we; they had a food dictator; so did we; they established national prohibition; so did we; they imprisoned for opinion; so did we; they took over the telegraph wires and cables; this was attempted here. The Bolshevists had spies who provoked crimes; so did we. They are accused of trying to overthrow our government; we sought to overthrow theirs.

Imperialism, Bolshevism, Czarism; the sovereignty of autocrats over men are all alike in their appeal to coercion. They are all repugnant to Americanism. The only antidote for the deadly poison of dictatorship and coercion is our faith that the sovereign people are the rightful masters of the government and that they must maintain their absolute authority over every question, limited in the exercise of their sovereign power only by the constitutions which preserve to all, their God bestowed rights.

Not Bolshevism in Russia, but Bolshevism unseen, unsmelled within our own borders, is the menace to America. Not some foreign empire but the "insidious wiles of foreign influence," the false doctrine of empire and coercion in our own governmental halls are the peril. Intolerance, hatred, dictatorship, coercion; these are the present menace to our Republic's life.

The Eighteenth Amendment establishing dictatorship by government upon a question over which the sovereign people should have control is coercion; Bolshevism. The same can be said of the Federal Spy system and the provoking of citizens to crime by government. The increase of Presidential power and authority and the insidious propaganda of the executive to bring Congress, the representative of the people, into contempt; government by commissions and decrees and not by laws; swollen bureaucracy; oppressive taxes; the intimidation of the people until they fear to criticise or condemn an insincere and incompetent public servant; subserviency to high position; permitting Federal job holders to select candidates for the people; the huge current appropriations by our government of $1,000,000,000, for two years, in preparation for another War; the deliberate effort to prepare our people to think in terms of militarism, the clever scheming to get us into the armed coalition of Empires, falsely named a League of Nations, by the back door of the world court; all those are signs of the results of imperialism, and vest time Bolshevism at Washington, upon our once pure spiritual Americanism.

We need new Knights of the "Stars and Stripes" to fight the doctrine of imperialism, Bolshevism, coercion. We need men of clear minds and fearless hearts to render noble service to the Republic. We live in years of opportunity for heroic action.

Some of our political leaders, most of them suckers of federal pap, like the St. George on horse back painted on a sign, always seem in motion but never move on. They know but one interesting issue and that is how to hold their jobs. Public questions only interest them as they may affect their personal fortunes. Intolerance, hatred, coercion, war have destroyed international organization and are disintegrating nations.

Never was this Republic in greater peril. Unrest is profound. Resentment against an arbitrary and incompetent government is hot. Knights of America are needed who will give to that pent up spirit of revolt a rational constructive expression that there may be averted a radical and destructive explosion.

Young men and maidens, you are Americans. The flaming torch of liberty and justice handed to us by our fathers, we elders must pass on to you. You are trustees of that sacred heritage of government, under God, by the sovereign people. The people, obedient to divine command, must rule by reason, persuasion, compassion, love; not by coercion, brutality, imperialism, war. Six millions of men in America are unemployed because of the crimes of dictatorial, coercive government. Hundreds of thousands, in a land of plenty, suffer hunger. Fifteen millions in the world are unemployed and anguished from a lack of food. These are the citizens of the advanced among the nations. These have been added to more than one billion of human beings who always live close to or below that dead line which separates mal-nutrition from actual starvation. That more than one billion of beings in backward countries should be the wards of the enlightened nations. Yet while so many hunger and perish from starvation the advanced nations of the world spend almost five billions of dollars a year, more than 400 millions per month, thirteen millions of dollars per day for armies, armaments, for future slaughter of their brother men.

Of this vast sum your country spends one sixth. The administration in Washington with air of sanctity protests against a dole to buy bread for Americans brought to face starvation by the incompetence of government under its present leadership. This administration taxes us to pay more than 2 millions of dollars every day to provide the means by which this peace loving Republic is being prepared to enforce the doctrine of coercion and maintain its membership in that bloody coalition of murderers founded by Cain, who, questioned by God, gave back that sneering answer which, ringing down the centuries, becomes the policy of hard faced, smirking imperialists and autocrats who care not who may perish if their prosperity and authority survive. —BEL AIR TIMES of August 28, 1931.

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For release at 6:00 P. M. Standard Time, July 11th, 1931

Remarks of

JOSEPH IRWIN FRENCH

Ex-Senator of Maryland

At The Meeting Opening His Presidential Campaign

At His Home

Mount Ararat Farm :- Port Deposit, Md.

July 11th, 1931

It is a worthy tradition, too often violated in these days of decadent politics, that no man should be permitted either to seek or to refuse the highest office in the gift of the Republic.

If there were any permanent reward for earthly glory any man might be excused for a consuming ambition to have his name recorded as one who had occupied this office. But the brief annals of the Republic bear testimony that no man is revered or even long remembered merely because he has been President of the United States. In Greece Washington remembered because he was once the President? In Jefferson, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, or Abraham Lincoln? The fame of John Quincy Adams is not that he was President but that, after he retired from the Presidential Office he accepted an election to the House of Representatives where, through ten momentous years, against apostates from the faith and repudiators of the covenant, he waged valiant battle in defense of constitutional principles, in the unanimous rights of the sovereign people to petition their government. And, then, forgent in the service of God and humanity, on the floor of that House, with the words, "It is the last of earth, I am content", he died; an immortal. No office added lustre to these names. Rather these men by their words and deeds, shed lustre upon their offices and remain forever a priceless heritage of the Republic. We may not hope to reach the stature of these illustrious ones but it is the high privilege of every one of us to stand steadfast with these, in absolute fidelity to the principles of the Republic.

My only ambition is to be a defender of the covenant, to prove faithful to the nation which is the expression, of truth and the will of God in an institution of human government.

CANDIDACY OF PRINCIPLES

In a spiritual sense I am not presenting adequate qualities to a political to be moral. The only outstanding statesman of the period, Woodrow Wilson, declared for these principles at the outbreak of Europe's great conflagration then during its course, but, upon our entrance into the war, he succumbed to their abandonment. Toward the close of the war, in his plea for a just and merciful peace, he reaffirmed these principles. Again, in Europe, under the influence of the statesmen of the empires, he once more abandoned them.

No American statesman can formulate or put into operation any rational, consistent, comprehensive, constructive policy or formulate a worthy diplomacy without an absolute fidelity and obedience, at every time, in every crisis, to these great principles.

ERA OF REPUDIATION

It is impossible, in my brief time, to trace the continuous repudiation of a vital principle, of our constitutional system, during these recent years of stress. It is sufficient to say that during the war, largely under the dominating influence of financiers, we abandoned democracy and established a virtual autocracy. In violation of the very fundamental principles of sovereignty of the people alien hearted leaders and those allegedly by birth and fidelity to the constitution enacted the Espionage Act, a treasonable statute, which was a flagrant violation of our bill of rights, which was no single act, in our history, ever struck a more deadly blow against our institutions. It subverted our rights, it violated our guarantees, intimidated the sovereign people, stripped them of their constitutional and transferred the sovereignty from the people and the States to the government at Washington. The Federal government, made immune from criticism, then embarked upon ill considered policies of radical socialism and there was created a swollen and inefficient socialistic bureaucracy. The leaders established dictatorships, meddled with industry, muddled with price fixing, tampered with the nor-

should represent the people. We hold that in a free government leaders must criticize with and arise from the people rather than with a powerful and perhaps autocratic Executive, to be imposed, through the power of patronage, upon the people.

There must be an end to that disrespect of the legislative branch of our government which was fostered, by the arbitrary Executive Department, during the war. The people of the United States should realize that the legislative system rests upon faith in the ultimate wisdom of the people and the legislators who represent them. Moreover, wisdom will be found in the combined minds of the legislative body than in the single mind of the chief executive. Grave injury was done our country when the executive, in a spirit of encroachment, sought to dictate to distinct congress and look to the President. The people must direct the legislative and the legislative must, in proper instances, direct the executive. Let us not move in the direction of monarchy and tyranny. Dictators are always incompetent and usually corrupt.

CURB EXECUTIVE POWER

We must contemplate, with a deep concern the future of our country and a high determination to contribute to that, a brief interment, the recent enormous growth of Executive power, tending toward tyranny. We pledge ourselves to oppose the attempt to block office of any man, of whatever party, who seeks, by indirect measures the endence of which would be to enhance, or increase, the executive authority.

I believe it should be the duty of the President to slim bills passed by the Congress and that the President should not exercise his power of veto upon legislation except upon constitutional grounds. Congress should never pass unsound measures hoping for a Presidential veto. Its members must resist temporary popular clamor for unsound measures. I believe,

As governments become expensive, they become oppressive. Reduce your taxes and you will increase your liberty. Give the bureaucrats all the appropriations they demand and they will transform your government into a bureaucratic monster which will be your master. An administration, thoroughly devoted to the American system of a government of strictly limited powers, could have reduced our last budget by about one billion of dollars, simplified governmental operation, increased its efficiency and restored a large measure of our liberty.

RAILROADS

Our railroads constitute, at once, the principal arteries of our national life and the chief foundation of our financial structure. The railroads' problem is a vital one. They need public support and every possible consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The growing competition by other means of transportation has already reached serious proportions. Every reasonable latitude should be given to the railroads in what, ever proper efforts they may make to organize all agencies of transport into a unified and effective system. When occasion may arise I will discuss this problem more in detail.

THE SHERMAN LAW

I believe that there should be reasonable modifications of the Sherman Anti-Trust law to permit proper and moral cooperation in the industrial field. Certainly there are industries, such as that of oil, where ruthless competition is bankrupting the exhaustion of a limited and vitally important natural resource. We hope that we have entered upon a new era of cooperation industrial, commercial and international. To attempt to restore ruinous competition in the field of railroads and public utilities would be reactionary and ridiculous. Private ownership with reasonable

ly correctly.

THE WORLD WAR

There are but few who have any conception of the magnitude of the world crisis and its cause. Most commentators hold that in the autumn of 1929 we entered upon one of those period of recession and depression which seem to follow regularly upon a period of expansion and prosperity. This is not true. Since the close of the European war the world has been progressing steadily in the direction of bankruptcy and economic disintegration. The conditions throughout the world have been growing steadily worse since the armistice was signed. The period of relative prosperity and advancing stock prices which we witnessed here, from 1924-1929, obscured our vision as to the true situation.

We have witnessed the first world war, the first modern war. I believe that our past God must judge a transgression with due consideration for the period and circumstances of its commission. For which might be judged but a petty sin at a very dawn of the age of reason becomes a monstrous crime in the full noon of the age of enlightenment.

The world war was hence the most monstrous and universal transgression of history. It was necessary for this nation to enter the war to save a civilization that violated all law and imperiled all government.

But, it seems, the transgression by war was so great that the stunned peoples longed for peace. But the assembled governments adopted a policy which has driven us 12 years of "peace after the war", and this has probably cost more money, wrought more ruin and destroyed more lives than the war of actual combat. Can this "war after the war" be ended before the whole economic structure of the world collapses?

After the armistice we now the victorious nations, for a brief period, the immediate limitation of all preparations for war, the renunciation of every policy of conquest, an international court of general guilt; contrite repentance; mutual forgiveness, true reconciliation and the establishment of an effective international concert for the rehabilitation and lasting peace of the world. This logical, moral sacrifices not only by the guilty but by those who had been the sacrifices. It involves a final renunciation of all reparations and the liquidation or cancellation of the debts of nation to nation; the establishment of a new era of conservative, constructive internationalism.

The great upheaval of the war marked the culmination of the old dispensation of force and the dawn of the new age of reason, justice, righteousness.

THE WORLD DEFICIT

ed her pre-war importance as a national organization of incredible efficiency. The war destroyed this organization. The German people, after the war, urged upon the German people the policy of "fulfillment", because they hoped that, when the hatreds of war had subsided, the common sense and common decency of the world compel the contribution that to enslave a nation, crushed and prostrate to invite general ruin. They thus displayed a commendable faith in the moral order and in the essential spiritual nature of all peoples. The dawning reason has brought some faint appreciation of the country's peril and some grudging reflection. In the impossible and cruel reparations, public men have not yet had the honesty and courage to face and acknowledge the terrible plight of the German people. She has met her public payments by huge private borrowing and the end of this is in sight. There is not the slight, the remotest, hope, in her balance, of the least hope that, when she can no longer borrow, she will be able to meet her reparation obligations. Experts have all drawn reparation payments, Germany's losses and payments have already been colossal. The losses in capital and of her productive power are enormous. Her loss of ships amounted to a billion and a half of dollars. Her African colonies alone, embracing an area of more that of the United States, represented a value of hundreds of dollars. Her colonies, other than Africa, represented a billion dollars. These colonies in the main, were commercial enterprises, afforded an important overflow area for her growing population and her products and she was actively competitive in trade with the backward peoples. Her loss of upper Silesia was serious. The loss of her foreign investments, the prostration of Russia, her best customer, the disintegration of her industries, the intensified competition abroad, her economic losses, have all inevitably been collateral losses. Just the losses of the single Germany might, in time, have been in a position to meet, with a moderate reparation but now there seems to be no possibility of her coing so.

THE PROPOSED MORATORIUM

The President is to be congratulated upon making a move toward more a temporary moratorium in reparation and debt interest payments.

One of my purposes in entering this contest was to urge the immediate and imperative necessity for steps to avert the world disaster which was threatened by the impending collapse of Germany's economic life. It is particularly gratifying that the President has acted after all hope of any such action by him had been practically abandoned by those who, during the years through which he was Secretary of Commerce and during

electrical machinery, telephones, machines, tools, road building equipment, business machines, typewriters, automobiles, trucks, steel, cars, locomotives, cotton and wool, boots and shoes and countless other commodities.

Economists have held that the recent marvelous financial and industrial development of the United States was due to the establishment of the huge new automobile industry which has been a fresh creator of national wealth. New wealth creates more new wealth. What a tremendous impetus would give to the world economy by throwing the wealth of Russia into play with the world's financial mechanism? If she should begin to buy on a scale commensurate with her needs and the world-wide problem of unemployment would be solved. Industry would spring into life and the unemployed would be established for a sound prosperity. Such an economic revival would prove the wisdom of a sincere spiritual reconciliation and a peace based upon moral law.

I have never favored nor do I now favor the recognition of Russia in advance of mutually satisfactory settlements of all moral and financial questions between the two countries. To recognize Russia before reaching satisfactory agreements, would work injury to the cause of normal and proper international relationships. To refuse all discussion with Russia is a violation of the sound principles of American diplomacy. It was established when George Washington was President and Thomas Jefferson Secretary of State. And Russia remains the major factor in the problem of reconstruction.

OVER-PRODUCTION FALLACY

What solution can the prin ple of "sovereignty of the people" and the moral law offer for the problem of over-production and unemployment? Some are questioning the validity of morals in the world; to question is moral. But there seems to be a tendency and growing belief that such moral action if man's industry is to result in production, consumption, employment and distress.

Cecil Rodes uttered profound truth when he exclaimed "Civilization is goods". I suggest that there may be a time when world civilization is designed to extend its benefits to all humanity. As nations conform to moral law, they surpass the age of scarcity and over-industrialized. There has been, hence, a severe competition between the advanced nations for markets in which to sell their surplus goods. Under a proper world organization, through an international concert, it would become evident that the nations should not ruthlessly compete for existent markets but that they should cooperate for the development of new markets, not only in the inter-

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Radio Address

THE DEPRESSION—ITS CAUSE AND ITS CURE

by

FORMER SENATOR

JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE

OF MARYLAND

Candidate for the Republican Nomination
for President of the United States

John N. Kelly, N. Y.

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

WEAF

Thursday, March 31, 1932, at 5 P. M.

346

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JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE.

X-E 748
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FOR PRESIDENT

Dr. JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE

#70

OF MARYLAND

—*John N. Kelley, N. Y.*

Physician, Farmer, Statesman, Scientist, Business Man and Banker

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New York City
Telephones: Vanderbilt 3–0160
" 3–0161

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UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE INTERNATIONAL UPLIFT LEAGUE

A Member of

THE UNITED FRONT ASSOCIATION

GOD And My RIGHT **** ALL MEN UP!

The United States of America Is Not a Monarchal Country Where Royal Lineage Rules Regardless of Fitness, or Bureaucrats and Aristocrats Dominate From Supposed Superior Complex. The United States Is A Republic; and A REPUBLIC Is A COUNTRY Governed By RULERS, Who Are CHOSEN By the Majority of Their Fellow-citizens. EXCELSIOR! Be Enthusiastic About Your Constitutional and Unalienable Rights, As By Whom You Should Be Governed.

PLEASE READ EVERY SENTENCE INSIDE
AND KEEP THIS FOLDER FOR REFERENCE!

X-E 748
.F7
#72
PROPERTY OF ELECTIONS

Summary of the popular vote in the nine states in which Senator France filed and in which the law provides for a direct vote for the candidate.

Compiled by Mr. Howard M. Rice up to June 3, 1932.

	France	Hoover	Coxey	Ross
NORTH DAKOTA, 11 DELEGATES				
PRIMARY DATE, MARCH 15th				
POPULAR VOTE	35,906	Nothing	24,818	
ILLINOIS, 61 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, APRIL 12th				
POPULAR VOTE	345,598	1,750		
Dawes	129			
Lowden	79			
Coolidge	95			
Scattering	51			
NEBRASKA, 17 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, APRIL 12th				
POPULAR VOTE	40,481	13,934		
PENNSYLVANIA, 75 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, APRIL 26th				
POPULAR VOTE	352,092	20,662		
MARYLAND, 19 DELEGATES	France	Hoover	Uninstructed	
PRIMARY DATE, MAY 2nd				
POPULAR VOTE	17,008	27,324	1,236	
This vote for Hoover represents the office-holding organization, their friends and families. In 1928 the Hoover vote in Maryland was over 300,000. So that this vote is a virtual repudiation of the administration.				
OHIO, 55 DELEGATES	France	Hoover	Coxey	Ross
PRIMARY DATE, MAY 10th				
POPULAR VOTE	44,853	8,154	75,844	48,867
NEW JERSEY, 35 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, MAY 17th				
POPULAR VOTE	141,276	10,116		
WEST VIRGINIA, 19 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, MAY 17th				
POPULAR VOTE	81,404	Nothing		
OREGON, 13 DELEGATES	France	Hoover		
PRIMARY DATE, MAY 20th				
POPULAR VOTE	64,148	17,639		
Vote received in 1,635 of Oregon's precincts out of 1,783.				
TOTAL POPULAR VOTE ON RETURNS RECEIVED TO DATE—June 3, 1932	France 1,122,766	Hoover 99,579	Coxey 100,662	Ross 48,867
	France	Hoover	Coxey	Ross
TOTAL DELEGATES	231	19	55	

X-E748
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#73

Released on Delivery in Convention, Thursday, June 16, 1932.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1932.

ADDRESS of MR. L. B. SANDBLAST of Portland, Oregon, nominating for President, Former Senator JOSEPH I. FRANCE, of MARYLAND.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In this Convention we are met to perform the highest duty in civic life - to set forth our principles, and nominate our Candidate for President of the United States.

Momentous issues depend upon our decision - the future of a great party and a great Nation; the welfare, perhaps the security and prosperity of our country.

This crisis, like those faced by Washington and Lincoln calls for courage and independence, for fearless leadership and constructive action; most of all for devotion to Republican principles and the American System of Government.

Like many men of the free West, I was nurtured in these vital principles which have "made and preserved us a Nation." With deep concern I had witnessed, in recent years, a dangerous drift from the very principles of Constitutional Government. It seemed to me that we needed some men to issue a clear call as Lincoln did in 1860, for a return to the fundamental principles of the Republic.

In my office at Portland there came to me, a year or more ago, a newspaper announcing the candidacy for President of a man who seemed to embody these ideals. Let me read you the opening paragraph:

CANDIDACY OF PRINCIPLES

"IN A SPIRITUAL SENSE I AM NOT PRESENTING, ADVOCATING OR SEEKING TO ADVANCE A MERE PERSONAL CANDIDACY. I OFFER MYSELF ONLY AS AN INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHOM, CLEARLY, BOLDLY, WITHOUT REGARD TO WHERE THE BLOWS MAY FALL OR WHAT SHALL BE THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE, THERE SHALL BE PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES, FOR RE-ELECTION, RE-ADOPTION AND RESTORATION, TO FULL, COMPLETE, POWERFUL, EFFECTIVE AND BENEFICENT OPERATION, THOSE ETERNAL PRINCIPLES OF THE MORAL ORDER WHICH ARE THE SUBSTANCE AND NATURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT."

Could it be true that there was a man putting first, not personal advantage but devotion to principles, the very principles to which I, myself, had been so devoted, whose ambition was not for office, but to serve his country?

Succeeding paragraphs in his announcement set forth these principles in such clear terms that I would recount some of them here:

"ALL TRUE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES IS AN INSTRUMENT, BENEFICENT AND POTENT, FOR EVERY EMERGENCY OF PEACE OR WAR. THEY HOLD THAT THE CONSTITUTION, WITH ITS INHERENT TRUTH, AFFORDS TO AMERICA AND TO MANKIND AN INFALLIBLE INSTRUMENT OF PRECISION, BY WHICH, THE POLITICAL CONDUCT OF INDIVIDUALS AND THE COURSE OF NATIONS MAY BE DIRECTED, WITH CERTITUDE, TOWARD PROPER ENDS AND WORTHY DESTINIES, PROSPERITY, TRANQUILITY, SAFETY, CONCORD, THE GENERAL WELFARE, TECHNICAL AND SPIRITUAL PEACE, NATIONAL ORDER ANDORDERLY INTERNATIONAL CONCERT ARE THE LEGITIMATE CONSEQUENCES OF A COURSE PLOTTED IN IMPLICIT OBEDIENCE TO THIS CHART OF MORAL GOVERNMENT."

X-E 748
.K6

#74

INTERNATIONAL UNITY.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX,

SECRETARY OF STATE,

Banquet of Pennsylvania Society of New York, December 11, 1909, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

X-E 748
.K6

#75

ADDRESS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE THE

CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

AT

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 15, 1911

X-E 748
.K6

#76

THE PENDING ARBITRATION TREATIES

ADDRESS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE THE

American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes

CINCINNATI, OHIO, NOVEMBER 8, 1911

X-E 748
.K6

#77

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADDRESS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE THE

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 11, 1911

X-E 748
.K6

#78

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND SOME INCIDENTAL OBLIGATIONS IN THE ZONE OF THE CARIBBEAN

ADDRESS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE THE

NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 19, 1912

X-E 748
.K6

#79

REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE THE

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 30, 1912

X-E 748
.K6

#80

ADDRESS OF

THE HONORABLE PHILANDER C. KNOX

SECRETARY OF STATE

AT THE

CENTENARY CELEBRATION

OF THE

STATE OF LOUISIANA

AT

NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 30, 1912

X-E 748
.K6

#81

THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE COMMERCE OF THE CARIBBEAN

ADDRESS OF

THE HONORABLE PHILANDER C. KNOX

SECRETARY OF STATE

AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET

OF THE

CALIFORNIA DEVELOPMENT BOARD

IN

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, MAY 7, 1912

X-E 748
.K6

#82

ADDRESS OF

HONORABLE PHILANDER C. KNOX

BEFORE

THE PAN AMERICAN SOCIETY

AT

NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 27, 1912

X-E748
K58

For release after 9:00 P. M.
Central Standard Time, Nov.18

#83

ADDRESS OF COLONEL FRANK KNOX, PUBLISHER OF THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, AT A MEETING OF THE IRVINGTON REPUBLICAN CLUB OF INDIANAPOLIS AT THE MURAT THEATRE, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1935, AT 8:15 P. M.

I propose to speak to you to-day on the general subject of "What form of government do you want in this country?"

A few days ago one of President Roosevelt's chief brain trusters, Mr. Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, gave a radio talk in which he said:

"We must learn to use the governmental powers to bring about a balanced relationship between producing groups."

I wonder how many of Mr. Wallace's listeners, or how many people in the United States, understand the import of what was said. And, too, I wonder if Mr. Wallace was aware of the full significance of his own words. Allow me to repeat them:

"We must learn to use the governmental powers to bring about a balanced relationship between producing groups."

(1)

#84

INSERT SPEECH OF COLONEL FRANK KNOX, ASSOCIATED BUSINESS PAPERS, DINNER WALDORF, DECEMBER 2, MONDAY.

1935?

Before saying what I want to say tonight, I particularly want to say something else. There seems to be confusion, or misunderstanding, over my position in regard to payment of the veterans' bonus.

I opposed, with all the vogor at my command, the appropriation of $4,800,000,000 for relief. Again and again, in my newspaper and on the public platform, I declared that this blank check was probably four times as much as would be needed if relief were distributed on a cash basis. However, the appropriation was made.

Of the $4,800,000,000 appropriated by Congress, approximately four billions remains unexpended, although largely it has been 'allocated' by executive order, which can be changed overnight.

As the prepayment of the bonus is going to be the first legislative proposal considered when Congress reassembles, it is a moral certainty that the New Dealers, with their record of spending, will authorize it.

What I should like to see done, and what ought to be done, is that such part of the remaining $4,000,000,000 as is not necessary for relief should be cancelled and not spent at all. And, let me stress that direct relief would give the recipient more real relief than all the boondoggling. But we all know the New Deal administration won't do that. Therefore, I would rather see the veterans prepaid such sums as are justly due them out of the $4,000,000,000 than wasted or used for partisan purposes. You may be sure if it is not paid to the veterans it will be largely wasted or used for partisan purposes.

X-E748
.K58

For release morning papers
December 14, 1935.

#85

ADDRESS OF COLONEL FRANK KNOX, PUBLISHER OF THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, AT A DINNER MEETING OF THE WORCESTER REPUBLICAN CLUB, HOTEL BANCROFT, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 13, 1935.

It must come as surprising news to the American people to learn that no longer is arithmetic an exact science - that under the rule of the New Dealers the laws of addition, multiplication, subtraction and division have been unmasked as just old superstitions of "horse and buggy days."

For, wasn't it only two weeks ago in Atlanta, Georgia, that the President in his best Rooseveltian manner informed the people of the United States:

"We are once more in the black. In 1933 we were insolvent. Today we are solvent."

Then, in the same speech he went on to say that in 1933 we had a debt of $21,000,000,000 (and, by the way, the correct figure was several hundred million dollars less than that) he further admitted that as of the day of his speech the debt

X-E748
K58

FROM ONE SOLDIER TO ANOTHER

#86

I THINK I know the men who served with me in the war well enough to indulge in some plain talk.

WE ARE in a new war. Just because this new one does not include a 50-pound pack and an extra hundred rounds of ammunition, it is no less a war for all of that. Probably few of us could define why we all had to go to war in 1917, but there isn't any difficulty about defining why we ought to get in this new war.

THERE are a good many things way down deep in our hearts we don't talk about, but just feel. One of these things is a desire, usually an inarticulate desire, to give our kids at least as good, if not a better chance than we had to make good. That means the preservation of a free country, free enterprise, and a lot of other freedoms that we have always taken for granted. We want this country to be a place where a boy can get a job at decent wages, can get married and

(OVER)

X-E748
.K58

#87

THE ADDRESS

at the

ANNUAL KANSAS DAY BANQUET

of

FRANK KNOX, *Publisher*

THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

TOPEKA, KANSAS
JANUARY 29, 1935

X-E748
.K58

#88

THE TESTING OF THE AMERICAN IDEAL

Address by
FRANK KNOX
Publisher, The Chicago Daily News

To the
Los Angeles County Republican Assembly
Los Angeles, California, July 25, 1935

#89 X-E740 .K58

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Knox at Home

EFFECT OF PLANNED ECONOMY ON WOMEN AND THE HOME

By FRANK KNOX*
Candidate for the Republican Nomination
for the Presidency

FOR nearly three years the people of the United States have been the victims of an unasked and unexpected experiment in government. Those responsible for this experiment have been a group of radicals, recruited largely from eastern universities, none of whom holds an elective office, but as a group they have enjoyed the confidence of President Roosevelt and through the President's appointive power they have been provided with the authority needed to put their experiment into operation.

Briefly what these radicals have sought has been to substitute a collectivist system of regimentation

*A speech before the Women's Division of the Frank Knox for President Committee, Room 402, Hotel La Salle, Chicago

X-E748
Republican National Committee
#190

THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

"Not Soft—Not Spineless!"

The Acceptance Speech of
COLONEL FRANK KNOX
Republican Nominee for Vice-President
Chicago, Ill., July 30, 1936

> *"And so I preach to you the doctrine, not of the soft and spineless kept citizen of a regimented state—but of the self-respecting and self-reliant men who made America."*—COLONEL KNOX.

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from
The Literature Distribution Section,
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, Chicago, Ill.

X-E748
K58

ONE FLAG, the American flag; ONE LANGUAGE, the language of the Declaration of Independence; ONE LOYALTY, loyalty to the American people.

"Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty"

#91

Meet This MAN

SEP 8 - 1936

Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee

The hard hitting, straight-shooting Frank Knox is a great running mate for that man of the hour, the Governor of a typical prairie state, ALF LANDON.

★

After you have read this, pass it along to a friend who should vote for Landon and Knox. This is YOUR fight. Help win votes for Landon and Knox.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CHICAGO, ILL.
1936
117

SEP 5 - 1936

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee
X-E748
.K58
#92

KNOX EXPOSES NEW DEAL

Punch Paragraphs by Republican Candidate for Vice-President. Show Radicals Control Government

What Colonel Frank Knox says President Roosevelt and the New Deal Party have done:

- Wasted Billions in Taxes
- Foresworn the Constitution
- Adopted Autocracy
- Regimented Initiative
- Lowered Standard of Living
- Lost Public Confidence
- Sought to Control Business
- Made War on Supreme Court
- Permitted Relief Graft
- Headed Country Towards Bankruptcy

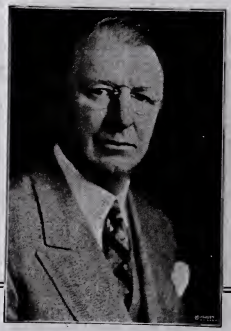
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CHICAGO, ILL.
1936

337

E74 K58
OCT 12 1936
Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee
X-E748
.K58
#93

COL. FRANK KNOX

OF ILLINOIS



CHRONOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHY
OF THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

240

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.K58

#94

FRANK KNOX

HIS VIEWS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY

ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN
STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

43

X-E748
.K68
#95

For release after 8 P. M.
Central Standard Time
Friday, January 10.

Address of Colonel Frank Knox, Publisher of The Chicago Daily News, at the annual banquet of the North Dakota Press Association at Grand Forks, North Dakota, Friday evening, January 10, 1936.

As I stand here on the eastern portals of your great state, I know you will go with me when I say I cannot help casting my mind's eye to the western gateways of North Dakota - to the little town of Medora where once lived a man whom I followed on the battlefields of Cuba, in the councils of the Republican and Progressive parties and whose political, social and economic precepts I have been proud to make my own throughout my whole life - Theodore Roosevelt.

Theodore Roosevelt was the outstanding symbol of the "Square Deal" in public and private life. Without distinction as to race, color, religion or any other limitation, he held to the Christian belief that every man and woman in this land of ours was entitled to and should receive an equal opportunity to use the gifts God gave him for his own benefit and that of his children, so long as he did not interfere with the similar right of his fellow citizens. What Theodore Roosevelt stood for was nothing more nor less than the "Golden Rule" applied to our daily lives and to our

X-E748
.K58

Address of Colonel Frank Knox, Publisher of The Chicago Daily News, Wednesday, January 15, 1936, at the annual meeting of the Detroit real estate board, Statler Hotel, Detroit, Michigan.

#196

It seems to me that Detroit, whether it be in the form of its baseball team - in the form of its business leaders - or in the spirit of its people, has developsd the habit of ringing the alarm clock on a lot of false dreams.

As you may know, I have spent a great deal of my life in Michigan. It is true that I was born in Massachusetts, and that I now work in Chicago - but most of the years between were spent in Michigan. As a boy I lived in Grand Rapids - as a youth I went to Alma College - as a young man I worked as a reporter on the Grand Rapids Herald - and from that job went to Sault Ste. Marie as editor of my own paper.

It was here in Michigan that I met two men, each of whom has become to me - as I hope I have become to them - a friend.

One was a young man who, like myself, was a cub reporter on the Grand Rapids Herald. He has grown in experience but in character he is just the same today as he was back there at the turn of the century. Plain, honest, kindly, a hard worker and a great citizen he is now one of your representatives in the United States Senate. His name is Arthur Vandenberg.

The other is Chase S. Osborn. It was Chase Osborn who told me of a weekly newspaper called the Lake Superior Journal, being published at the Soo. In turn, I told another friend, John Muehling, a printer in Grand Rapids. Together we bought the paper, turned it into a daily and renamed it The Evening Journal. It was then I learned what it is to make a payroll - and I am sure you know what that means, as well as I do.

It was my paper - and I say it with a feeling of pride - that came out for "Chase Osborn, for Governor of Michigan." As I look back it seems presumptuous

X-E743
.K58
#97

COL. FRANK KNOX

Republican Candidate for Vice-President

X-E 748
.K58

#98

"To give credit where credit is justly due"

X-E748
NOV 7 - 1936
Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee

Landon Philosophy

A Trio of Public Utterances

By

Governor
Alfred M. Landon
of Kansas

#199

Address at Attica, Kansas
May 18, 1936

Commencement Address at University
of Kansas
June 8, 1936

Interview with H. V. Kaltenborn on
May 7, 1936

SEP 8 - 1936
X-E748
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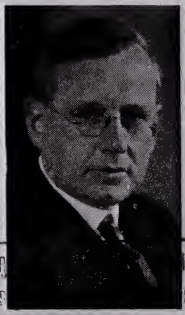
Founders Day Address

of

#100

GOV. ALFRED M. LANDON



Delivered Before the Founders Day Club, Lincoln, Neb.
February 29, 1936

#101 X-E748

ONE FLAG . . . the American Flag
ONE LANGUAGE . . . the Language of the Declaration of Independence
ONE LOYALTY . . . Loyalty to the American People

ALF LANDON

Pioneer

Two Celebrated Newspapermen interpret the Simple and Sturdy character —the human qualities of a "Practical Liberal"—the Governor of a typical Prairie State and Republican Candidate for President

HONESTY — FRUGALITY
ON-THE-LEVEL COURAGE
COMMON-SENSE

After you have read this, please pass it on to someone who should vote for Landon and Knox

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from
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ONE FLAG . . . the American Flag
ONE LANGUAGE . . . the Language of the Declaration of Independence
ONE LOYALTY . . . Loyalty to the American People

Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee
SEP 8 - 1936

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Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee
SEP 2 - 1936

#103

ALFRED M. LANDON

OF KANSAS

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Oct 13 1936
X-E748
.L2
Research & Education Division
Republican National Committee
#104

LANDON *and* LABOR

His Kansas Record Shows that the Republican Nominee has been a Consistent and Loyal Friend of Labor.

E 748.L + #105 X-E748
.L2

THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

A Biographical Sketch of

ALF M. LANDON

SEP 8 - 1936
Research & Reference Division
Republican National Committee

OUR PRAIRIE STATE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from
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THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

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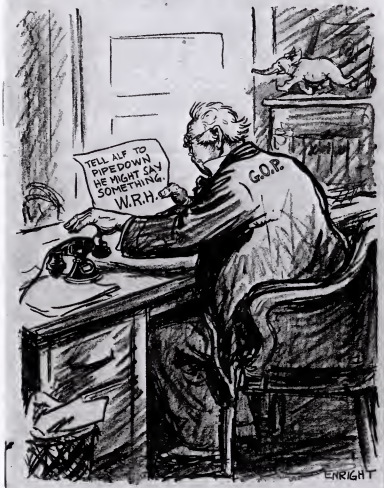
X-E748
.L2
#1107

HEARST OVER TOPEKA



Marching Orders

An address by
Hon. Harold L. Ickes
August 27, 1936, over the
Columbia Broadcasting System

— Copy 2 —

X-E748
.L2
#1108

Landon, Alfred Mossman, 1887-

The American Way of Life

Address by
GOVERNOR ALF M. LANDON
Republican Candidate for President
West Middlesex, Pa.
August 22, 1936

● *"Our fathers cherished this way of life because they bought it with their own blood. We have received it as a free gift from them. There is danger that we may not prize it as we should. This American way of life is being challenged."*

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from The Literature Distribution Section, Republican National Committee, New York City.

117

copy 2

#109 X-E748

One flag, the American flag; One language, the language of the Declaration of Independence; One loyalty, loyalty to the American people.

LANDON

SEP 28 1936

EPIGRAMS

Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee

Quotations from

Landon's Speeches of the Past Few Years.

★

Tune in Wm. Hard on NBC Blue Network Stations Monday to Friday evenings.

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from The Literature Distribution Section, Republican National Committee, Chicago, Ill.

#110
X-E748
.L2
Research & Editorial Division
Republican National Committee

Kansas Presents—

SEP 8 - 1936

GOV. ALF M. LANDON

as the man to lead the Republican Party to Victory in 1936

THE STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER

X-E748
#111 .L2

TWO MEN

A Deadly Parallel

■

Here is a record:

Of Promises Faithfully Kept;

Of good business in private and public life;

Of Simple, Straight-forward honesty in government

VS.

The Executive Record of the New Deal

■

For additional copies address:

Literature Distribution Section
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. Chicago, Ill.

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#112
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Governor LANDON

vs.

Candidate LANDON

★

This is the real story of Alfred M. Landon's record on vital issues since he became Governor of Kansas.

The record shows that he has reversed himself on all vital issues since becoming a candidate for President. The Republican platform reads like a condemnation of the policies which Governor Landon urged upon the Roosevelt Administration to combat the depression.

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#113
X-E748
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Governor LANDON

vs.

Candidate LANDON

★

This is the real story of Alfred M. Landon's record on vital issues since he became Governor of Kansas.

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Copy 3

X.E748
#1114 .L2

LANDON

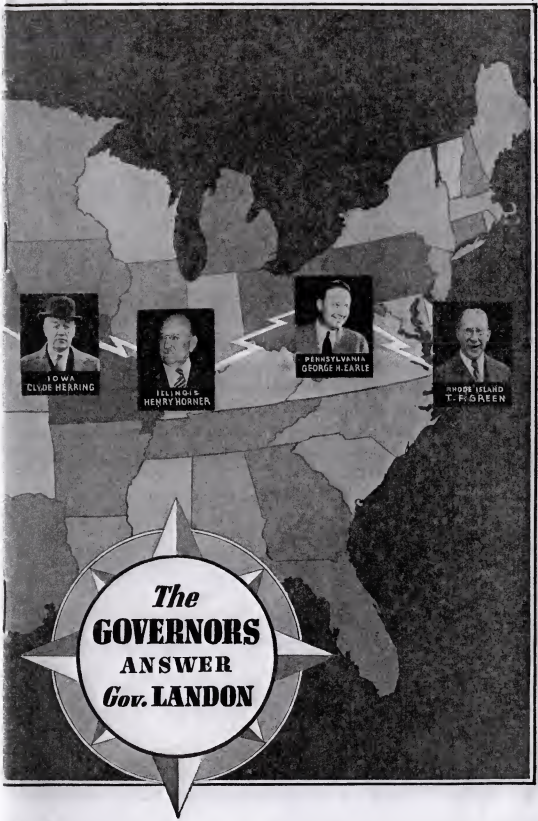
WHAT HE STANDS FOR

The
Republican Presidential Candidate
Interpreted by

HENRY J. ALLEN
MALCOLM W. BINGAY
ARTHUR CAPPER
JOHN HAMILTON
ROY ROBERTS
WM. ALLEN WHITE

(Copy 2)

E748.L4 #115 X-E748 .L2



E748 .L7
X-E748
.L2.
#116

KANSAS DAY SOUVENIR—1936

It's Like That Out in Kansas

If you ask where, in our troubled land,
There's a spot by bracing breezes fanned;
Kissed by the sunshine, bedewed by night,
Where God's in his Heaven and right is right;
Where Nature sheds her blandest smile
As rippling fields spread mile on mile;
Where men and women of sterling worth
Are honored still as the salt of earth,
— *The answer's, out in Kansas.*

Where, in the annals of rugged men,
Is a race that can rise and smile again
When tragic years of drought drag by
And billows of dust pile mountain high;
That yields no ground, that signs no truce
Be all the devils of hell turned loose;
Dreams no weak dreams of utopian bliss
Knowing freedom was bought at a price like this?
— *No place but out in Kansas.*

Kansas—child of the wide free West!
Kansas—close to the nation's breast;
Hearing that great heart's troubled beat
Sends far her call—"Men don't retreat!
Hold to your freedom! Fling out that flag
From staff and steeple, mast and crag,
And when the dust and storms are past
Heaven will smile on our land at last!"
— *They know that out in Kansas.*

Bursting acres rich with grain,
Touched by the magic gift of rain;
Meadows green where the dew distills;
The cattle on ten thousand hills;
Food for all in this favored spot,
Food for a million men forgot;
Friend to the stranger within her gates;
Love for all her sister states.
— *It's like that out in Kansas.*

When power-mad men with fell design
Weave schemes that subtly undermine
The fair high precepts of our realm;
With crafty promise, steal the helm;
Bestrew the land with stupid wrongs
That bind free men with alien thongs,
At these—does Kansas cringe in fear?
NO! SHE RIDES WITH PAUL REVERE!
— *It's a habit out in Kansas.*

If, in a time of deep concern,
A sore pressed people gravely turn
Seeking a man with calm clear mind,
Rich in the virtues of mankind;
Who sets not man against his brother
But urges justice one to the other.
Who, living close to the friendly sod
Yet looks away to the stars and God,
— *The stars that shine on Kansas.*

If a man they want for the crucial hour
Who courts no Caesar's dream of power;
Proud of the glories of his state
And the precepts that made his nation great;
True to the liberties that men love best;
Son of the virile abounding West,
Full charged with zeal to speed the day
Of a nation rejoicing on its way,
— *They'll find him out in Kansas!*

Burton H. Pugh, Topeka, Kansas

#117

Release Saturday, October 24.

LA FOLLETTE PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE CHALLENGES LANDON AND PINCHOT TO SHOW DOWN ON CONSERVATION

Asks Them To Get Down To Brass Tacks

The Progressive National Committee of which Senator Bob La Follette is Chairman is not content with Candidate Landon's silence on Conservation and water power or with Gifford Pinchot's radio guaranty to the voters that the Kansas Governor is a "dyed in the wool Theodore Roosevelt Conservationist." In a campaign pamphlet written by Judson King, Research Director of the Committee and issued from Washington, Landon is, in effect, told that voters who do their own thinking will not be influenced by vague generalities or a T. R. camouflage.

He is asked to get down to brass tacks and tell the country whether he will scrap or continue the TVA; whether he is for the Rural Electrification program and whether he will compel the lumber trust to adopt modern forestry methods.

He is reminded that Theodore Roosevelt declared the power trust a menace and fought it. What will he do? Utility holding companies were not on the map with Theodore Roosevelt as President. So, will Landon enforce the Holding Company Act? The writer wants to know how Pinchot can endorse a States' Righter when for 30 years he has declared Conservation to be primarily a job for the Federal Government.

President Roosevelt, it is pointed out, has a record which the voters can judge, but Landon has none in Kansas or elsewhere, and keeps still. It is noted that the power, oil, lumber and other trusts are fighting Roosevelt and all supporting Landon. So what?

To be for Teddy Roosevelt is not enough.

6-1-73
X-E 748
#118 .L86

the Real HUEY P. LONG

by SENDER GARLIN

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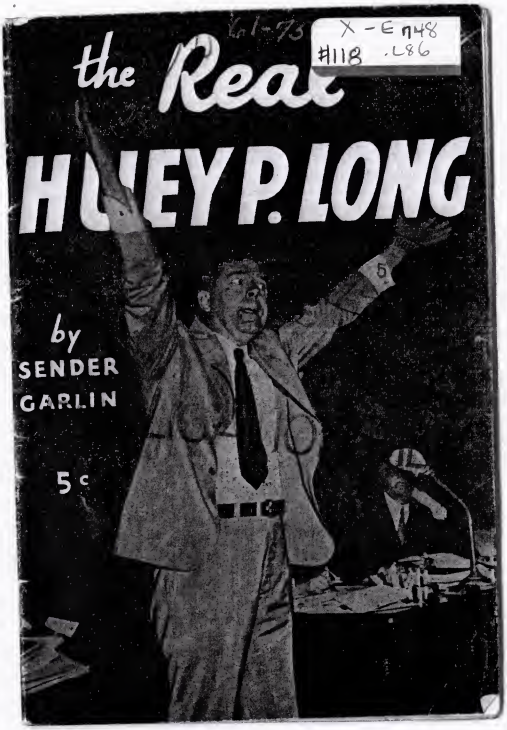

61-7559-2-32
X-E748
#119 .L86

Laugh This Off, "Jim"

By

A Washington Correspondent

Militant Christian Association
Charleston, South Carolina

X-E748
#120 : .S63

What Everybody Wants To Know About

Alfred E. Smith

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THE NEW YORK COMMITTEE
for The Nomination of
GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH

PRUDENCE BUILDING
43rd Street and Madison Avenue, New York City

125

#121
X-E748
S63
Smith, Alfred Emanuel, 1873-1944

Working Men and Women! If you want to know what kind of a friend of labor Governor Alfred E. Smith is,

Ask the Cloakmakers—they *know!*

George Rothbart,
New York, N. Y.

Re-Elect

Gov. Alfred E. Smith

#122 X-E748
.S63

AL SMITH'S RECORD AS TAMMANY LEGISLATOR

AND

GOVERNOR

X-E748
S63
#123

Al Smith and the Presidency

BY

BRUCE CALVERT

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Printed in the
United States of America

#124
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.S63

Appointments by Governor Smith to Public Offices in the State of New York

★

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1775 Broadway, New York City

X-E748
.S63

#125

WHAT EVERYBODY WANTS TO KNOW

About

Alfred E. Smith

★

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#126

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RECORD OF

AL SMITH

AS TAMMANY

LEADER

LEGISLATOR

AND

GOVERNOR

Do you wonder when
I say, a vote for Al
is a vote for Demon Rum

#127 S.3 E748

Alfred E. Smith

Address by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT nominating Governor Smith at the Democratic National Convention in Houston, June, 1928.

* * *

I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his

X-E748
.S63
#128

EDITORIAL

ON THE

Happy Warrior

WRITTEN BY

HON. FRED. J. KERN
OF BELLEVILLE, ILL.
EDITOR AND OWNER OF THE NEWS-DEMOCRAT

ISSUE OF

November 12, 1928

E794.D
X-E748
.S63
#129

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

OF THE

NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

BY

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH

Delivered at the Capitol at Albany, N. Y.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1928

Issued by
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1775 Broadway New York City

X-E748
#130 .S63

THE PROTESTANT PLOT AGAINST AL SMITH

A Reply to Hoover, Heflin & Co.

By JAMES FRANCIS THIERRY

PUBLISHED BY
THE MERSUAY CO.
Suite 1228, 15 PARK ROW
NEW YORK CITY

TAMMANY AND THE PRESIDENCY

X-E748
.S63
#131

Former Senator Owen Flays Smith as Possible Choice

Methods Used by Power Described Fully in Letter

Tammany Is the Candidate and Al Smith the Name, in the Opinion of Former United States Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, Who Has Stated His Views Regarding the Present Dilemma of the Democratic Party in a Letter to Richard Lloyd Jones, Publisher of The Tulsa Tribune.

REMARKS
OF
HON. F. M. SIMMONS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
In the Sena[illegible] the United States
[illegible]

Mr. Simmons. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record, without reading, a letter written by former Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, and published in The Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 13, 1928.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be published in the Record, as follows:

May 8, 1928.

Mr. Richard Lloyd Jones,
The Tulsa Tribune,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

My dear Mr. Jones:

Answering your favor of May 1st, I submit my views on "Tammany and the Presidency."

The aggressive arrogance of Tammany is in marked contrast to the somewhat excessive modesty and preoccupation of Democratic leaders outside of Manhattan. Tammany's foreign born constituents, hating autocracy, are natural Democrats. Tammany organized them by actual service, by genuine charity, by real kindness, by Christmas baskets, by summer picnics, etc., by employment, by rewards, and has thus obtained the support of the little people who do not understand big politics.

Tammany, with control of thousands of employees, has been rewarded abundantly with votes, with governing power, with graft. The little tigers got little graft from little people; the big tigers got big graft from big business. In the course of time I am convinced the grafting system laid its tribute in an organized fashion on the gamblers and "policy" shops, on the "disorderly houses" of unhappy women, on the "white slavers," on the boot-leggers and the wholesale liquor men, on crooks, on little thieves and big thieves, on sub-way and sewer contractors, on paving and highways, on public buildings, on people selling [illegible]

freely consorts with crooks by night. It probably gives the city of New York as good a government as it really deserves, and no better, but very expensive. The annual budget has already reached $500,000,000. No man knows where it all will end.

Tammany has thousands of supporters of the most respectable gentlemen, and it has the support of innumerable criminals who dodge about under the patronage of protection of Tammany supporters. Dr. Jekyll denounces and prosecutes the criminals and Mr. Hyde levies tribute on them at night and frequently thwarts the worthy efforts of Dr. Jekyll. Dr. Jekyll sternly applies the law to the gamblers, the crooks, the thieves, the underworld, but Mr. Hyde gives them protection and takes tribute from their stolen goods. Dr. Jekyll rebukes the rascals; Mr. Hyde plucks the thief.

Millions in Graft

The police captain must pay for his job and may get the cost back discreetly from the smaller fry. Judges of low and high degree have paid for their nominations (said [illegible] be about $50,000 for a Supreme Court justice's nomina- [illegible] [illegible] has been [illegible] [illegible]lly by many [illegible] [illegible]osures such as th[illegible] made by Dr. Charles H. Park[illegible]urst, the Mazet investigation, the Citizen's Union of New [illegible]ork, etc. There is not much secret about it, and I suppose [illegible]here is no sincere denial. The big graft, however, is in city privileges where huge competitive commerce is absolutely compelled to have space and opportunity.

The Tammany leaders are too intelligent to permit an appearance of evil. Contracts are not let to the highest bidder, for this would excite public outcry as obvious corruption, but specifications which require high bids need not be enforced by Tammany inspectors, and modifications and extra work can be found necessary under such contracts for favored contractors, and untold millions may be thus abstracted from the taxpayers of the city.

It is notorious that the Tammany leaders like Tweed and Croker, and Murphy become millionaires.

The stealings under Tweed were estimated to be from $30,000,000 to $200,000,000. Tammany grafts provides a means for controlling the New York City elections. Tammany has men in charge in voting precincts who know every voter, his age, nationality, business, religion, etc., and know whether he is a repeater or a fraudulent voter, and how to register him in many places and vote him efficiently in many booths on election day. Tammany can pad the vote of New York with thousands and thousands of fraudulent votes whenever the necessity arises. Tammany has become so skilled in managing the precinct vote and raising big money for political purposes, and cooperating with the standpat Republicans that it has at last concluded to attempt to put Mr. Smith in the White House by their methods.

Al Smith was born of modest parentage, and as a youth was trained and showed great talent as an actor. He is intelligent, social, industrious, and has been in the service of Tammany for [illegible]

H 132

LAUGHING HORSE

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.S63

Supplementary Pamphlet No 2.

in which we turn into a
laughing democratic mule for

AL SMITH

Ten Cents a Copy

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#133

ALFRED E. SMITH

THE MAN WITH A PROGRAM AND A RECOR

E748.S63
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.S63
#134

12 REASONS WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE FOR SMITH

By
Governor Nellie Tayloe Ross
Vice-chairman, Democratic National Committee

X-E748
.S63

#135

The American Farmer's Stake in the Election

GOVERNOR SMITH
And Equality for Agriculture

VERSUS

HERBERT HOOVER
And Peasantry

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1775 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

[illegible] of Pur[illegible]ty, [illegible] [illegible]nal Committee
1066 Nati[illegible] [illegible] Building
Washington, D. C. CON-3-1932

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#136

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR JOSEPH B. ELY OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, ILL., JUNE 30, 1932, NOMINATING HON. ALFRED E. SMITH FOR THE PRESIDENCY

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

It has always troubled me that such a gloriously American commonwealth as Virginia cast its electoral vote in 1928 for the Republican ticket. It is equally difficult to envisage the homeland of Andrew Jackson embracing a disc[illegible]le of Alexander Hamilton. But I sometimes pause in awed amazement as I survey the commonwealth which gave Calvin Coolidge to the United States worshipping at the shrine of Thomas Jefferson. Just think of it -- Massachusetts and Connecticut and Rhode Island Democratic -- Democratic because of a great Democratic personality.

Critical conditions face us -- so critical that the Democratic Party must make no mistake in framing a platform or choosing a candidate. This is more than a political convention seeking to establish the supremacy of a political party. We are not here to please ourselves alone, but to satisfy a nation. Our responsibility transcends Party. It is an obligation which cannot be met successfully by yielding to unfounded prejudice or following the doctrine of political expediency. Our action renews the confidence [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the turbulent sea of despair. We must show a clear advantage to be gained by the election of our leader, or it would be better for us as a Party which is above all things patriotic to endorse the choice of the Republican convention. Wavering and doubtful as that leadership has been, fruitless as have proved its efforts, feebly executed, we as Democrats will find it difficult to impress a nation with the advisability of a change unless our nominee is a man of action, virile, and rugged personality, capable of moulding public opinion to a common purpose. He must be a man who having made his decision moves directly and with an unerring aim to its accomplishment.

This is not a time for the language of diplomacy, but for positive and decisive statement. I yield to no man in devotion to Democracy and the ideals of our Party; always and to the end, the great men of the past are the idols of my political faith. We cannot rely upon our glorious past to lift the Democratic Party into power. That, of course, has been tried too often without success, but in this crisis from them may come our inspiration.

It might be well to pause for a moment and consider those leaders of earlier times. If we could recall from the shades of a retreating past one of them to lead us now; if it remained only to lift our voices and nominate him by acclamation to show the way, would it be Jefferson--the political philosopher--or the dogged and determined Cleveland? Would our eyes turn to the scholarly and idealistic Wilson, or do these ti[illegible] [illegible] tender, r[illegible] yet appealing, fiery yet

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stand up and be counted!

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WHY I CHOOSE TO RUN

by Henry Wallace

THE NEW REPUBLIC 40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

5¢